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MEMORANDUM

ON THE

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN FRONTIERS

OF

PERSIA.

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MEMORANDUM

ON THE

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN FRONTIERS OF PERSIA,

By the Assistant Secretary, Foreign Department.

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MEMORANDUM

ON THE

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN FRONTIERS

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PERSIA.

Introduction.

1. **Limits of the enquiry defined.**—The recent outrages committed by the Persian Forces up to the gates of Gwadir, the threatened interruption of the Mekran line of Telegraph, and the assertion by the Persian Governor of Bunpore that the supremacy of Persia extends over Choubar and Gwadir on the east, and as far as Bunder Abbass on the west, have led to an investigation of the limits of the territory of Persia on the south and east, and to an enquiry into the nature and extent of her claims over the line of country on the Coast of the Persian Gulf, hitherto regarded as being in the possession of the Imaum of Muscat.

2. **Fluctuating Frontiers of Persia.**—The only permanent boundaries of an empire on the land side are impassable mountains, or the well defined and artificially marked out frontier line of a border State, jealous of the integrity of its dominions, and strong enough to withstand the encroachments of its neighbours. In these conditions Persia has been wholly wanting on her eastern side, excepting during those rarely recurring intervals when her empire reached to the Indus and to the mountains bordering on that river. Of late years the territory of Herat has to some extent formed a barrier

in the interior, but in Beloochistan and Mekran Persia can be scarcely said to have had any barrier at all; and thus whilst her national traditions of the days of Nadir Shah and Shah Abbas the Great, impel her towards the banks of the Indus, her pretensions are capable of indefinite extension in that direction, according to the influence she may be enabled to exercise over her neighbours,—the chiefs of Beloochistan, the Khan of Khelat, and the Imaum of Muscat; or to the distance to which she may push her outposts over barren or sparsely populated territory, without notice or remonstrance from the great powers.* Meantime it has so happened that the Coast of the Persian Gulf and of Mekran has attracted but little attention. The sea-ports on the Persian Gulf have been held by the Imaum of Muscat; whilst Mekran generally has been unknown to the geographer, except as being the scene of the march of the army of Alexander. Native craft appear to have carried on a coasting trade between some of the ports; but the leading commercial route has been direct from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to Surat and other ports on the Indian Peninsula; the inhospitable shore of Mekran being generally avoided.

3. **Three separate enquiries.**—The information which has been elicited from

* The boundaries of Persia have fluctuated more than those of any other empire in the world, but the causes of the rise and collapse of each successive empire or dynasty have been almost precisely the same in all periods of her history. Rapid extension has ever been followed by rapid decay, and successive empires have fallen by the revolt of outlying provinces, or by the inroads of invaders from without. Such was the history of this region under the Assyrian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, the Parthian, and the Caliphs; and such has been the history of Persia during the Tartar and Afghan conquests, and down to our own times. See also Appendix V.

literary and official sources, may now be exhibited under three separate heads, *viz.*—

1*st.*—The Frontier of Persia on the Mekran Coast.

2*nd.*—The relations of Persia to the Khan of Khelat.

3*rd.*—The pretensions of Persia over the Imaum of Muscat.

It is now proposed in the first place to bring together under these three heads all the information that can be collected; and then to exhibit those deductions which may apparently be legitimately drawn from the evidence adduced. A map illustrating the routes of Grant and Pottinger, and the gradual advance of Persia eastward, has been drawn up in this office, and will accompany the present Memorandum.

I.—Frontier of Persia on the Mekran Coast.

4. **Four Routes along the Mekran Coast :—Grant, Pottinger, Abdun Nubee, and Macleod.**—As regards the frontier of Persia on the east, it can be distinctly proved that since the commencement of the present century, it has been steadily advancing over Beloochistan and Mekran. Upon this point we have four tolerably independent sources of evidence, *viz.*—

(1.) That of Captain Grant, who proceeded along the coast of Mekran from Gwuttur to Bunder Abbass in 1809.

(2.) That of Lieutenant Pottinger, who proceeded along a more inland route though Beloochistan from Khelat to Kirman in 1810.

(3.) That of Hajee Abdun Nubee, of Cabul, who travelled through parts of Beloochistan in 1838 and 1839.

(4.) That of Mr. Maclcod, Deputy Collector of Customs at Kurrachee, who visited some of the ports on the Mekran Coast in 1853.

5. **1st. Route of Captain Grant from Gwuttur to Bunder Abbass, 1809.**—Captain Grant's Journal has been frequently quotcd by Pottinger, and a very brief abstract of it has been published in the Appendix to Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire; but as it is of much importance as an original authority, it is now printed at full length in Appendix I. to the present Memorandum. The points bearing upon the present enquiry may be indicated as follows:—Captain Grant was sent out ostensibly to purchasc horses, but, in reality, to ascertain if there were any practicable routes by which a European army could march through Mekran to Scinde. Accordingly he sailed from Bombay on the 18th January 1809, with instructions to land at Gwadir; but he found the country in such an unsettled state, that he proceeded a little further to the westward, and landed at Gwuttur, a village of 150 mat huts and a small mud Fort. From Gwuttur he proceeded along the Coast to Choubar, and thence struck off in the interior to Kuserkund and Geh, and as far northward as Bunpore. He had then apparently intended starting off from Bunpore in a westerly direction, and taking the inland route to Minab; but this he found impracticable from the bad character of the Bunpore Chief, and he accordingly returned to Choubar and proceeded along the Coast, *viâ* Jask, to Minab and Bunder Abbass.

6. **Territories of independent Mekran Chiefs.**—Throughout the whole line of route thus indicated, the country appears to have been at that time divided into different territories under the Government of Mekranee Chiefs, who may to some extent have acknowledged the superiority of the Khan of Khelat,* but who were altogether independent either of Persia or the Imaum of Muscat, with the exception of the country between Gwuttur and Choubar, and that between Jask and Bunder Abbass. The territories of these Chiefs were as follows:—

7. **(1.) Territory from the Bay of Gwuttur to Choubar, under Meer Soban.**—This territory extended from Juvunee, on the Bay of Gwuttur, to Choubar on the west, and about forty miles inland. The Chief resided at Nugor, an inland village, consisting of 250 mat huts and a small mud Fort. The Forces of Meer Soban amounted to about 300 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry. The tribe was termed Jugdall, and originally came from near Scinde, and still spoke the language of that country; it was of greater weight in Mekran than any other, its alliance being courted by most of the neighbouring Chiefs. The village of Gwuttur, as already stated, contained 150 mat huts and a small mud Fort. Choubar consisted of about 300 mat huts and a mud Fort. The duties at Choubar amounted to about Rupees 5,000; and this amount was divided between the Syud (Imaum) of Muscat† and some of the Mekran Chiefs; but a little before Captain Grant's visit the

* See para. 32 *et seq.*

† Captain Grant calls him the Syud, but the title of Imaum is an elective religious title, which was never given to Syud Said, the late ruler of Muscat, though Europeans saw no difference, and styled him Imaum like his predecessors.

Imaum had seized the Fort, and retained the whole.

8. (2.) **Territory of Kuserkund, under Sheik Sumundur.**—To the northward of the dominions of Meer Soban lay the town of Kuserkund with a little territory to the north, all of which belonged to the Sheik Sumundur. This Chief is expressly said to have been independent, though his whole revenue did not exceed Rupees 1,000 per annum.

9. (3.) **Territory of Boog, under Meer Mohibbee.**—This is a small territory, only incidentally mentioned as lying between Kuserkund and Geh.

10. (4.) **Territory of Geh, westward of Choubar, under Mahomed Khan.**—The territory of Geh stretched for a hundred miles along the coast westward of Choubar, and to about eighty miles inland. The town of Geh was considered the second place in Mekran, Keij being the first; and its dependencies were more extensive than those of any other State. The revenue of Mahomed Khan, the Chief of Geh, was not above Rupees 4,000 per annum, and he might have been able to collect about 3,500 armed men. This State had been previously frequently plundered by the tribes bordering on Mekran and Persia, but for a few years prior to Captain Grant's visit, it had escaped these depredations.

11. (5.) **Extensive inland Territory of Bunpore.**—The territory of Bunpore is described at considerable length by Captain Grant. The then possessors had invaded it about 25 years previously, and, dispossessing the former inhabitants, had settled in it themselves. The Fort was situated on an extensive plain, and from the height of the mound of

earth on which it was built, it was visible at a distance of twenty miles. The Forces of Bunpore, when collected, consisted of 300 Cavalry, well armed and mounted, and 2,500 Infantry. Their chief employment was plunder, their expeditions being generally directed to the westward, extending to Minab and Bunder Abbass; the inhabitants and cattle formed the chief spoil, the former being sold as slaves to merchants from Candahar, who brought horses in return. Captain Grant said that these expeditions had been in some measure checked by the establishment of one of the Persian Shahzadas at Kerman about three years previously. He added that the Belooche tribes between Candahar and Persia were more habituated to rapine than those of Lower Mekran; and that, accordingly, pilgrims and other travellers from Cabul and the Punjab were accustomed out of fear of these inland tribes to proceed *viâ* Scinde, and then through Mekran.

12. (6.) **Territory of Jask, tributary to the Imaum of Muscat.**—The Coast territory of Geh is described as ending at Mulik Chadig, a high mound of stone extending from the mountains towards the sea, marking the boundary of Mekran. The landmark thus indicated by Captain Grant may prove to be of some importance, and perhaps is still in existence. At any rate its position is clearly indicated on Captain Grant's map. It marks out the spot where the territories dependent on Geh terminate, and where those of Jask commence. The dependencies of Jask extend to Gero, where the territory of Minab appears to begin. The town of Jask lay about two miles from the sea. It consisted of about 250 huts and a mud Fort, but at the time of Captain Grant's visit was

almost deserted, in consequcnce of a pestilential fever; and Meer Hajee, the Chief of Jask, had removed his residence to Sereek, a place about eighty miles off on the route to Bunder Abbass. Sereek contained about 600 huts and a large mud Fort. Thc position of the town of Jask should be particularly noticed, inasmuch as it forms the boundary line of the Pcrsian Territory on modern maps. Captain Grant says that Jask was tributary to the Imaum of Muscat, and paid about Rupees 2,500 per annum. The inhabitants are described as being Belooches right up to Minab, but approximated nearer to the Persians than the eastern tribes, both in their language, which was less mixed with that of Scinde, and in their religion, which had changed from the doctrines of the Sonnce to thosc of the Shea scct.

13. (7.) **Territory of Minab, dependent partly on Muscat and partly on Persia.**—The territory of Minab secms to have been dependent upon the Imaum of Muscat, but yet is described as being to some extent under Persia. The language of Captain Grant upon this point is neither clear nor precise. He says that the Chief of Minab, Meer Gholam Alee, "is quite dependent on the Imaum of Muscat, who receives about Rupees 30,000 yearly from this district, and keeps a small garrison in the Fort. Although not paying revenue direct to Persia, Minab may be considered as part of that kingdom. The neighbouring Persian Chiefs are on a good footing with it, and lend their Force and protection against its disturbers." Further on, however, in his notices of Bunder Abbass, he states that for "the Minab tribute the Imaum of Muscat partly accounts to Pcrsia."

14. **(8.) Bunder Abbass under the Imaum of Muscat.**—Captain Grant distinctly states that Bunder Abbass is in the possession of the Imaum of Muscat, and that the customs of the place amount to about Rupees 20,000, for which, and the Minab tribute, the Imaum of Muscat partly accounts to Persia.

15. **2nd. Route of Lieutenant Pottinger from Beyla to Kerman.**—About one year after the expedition of Captain Grant, that is, early in 1810, Captain Christie and Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Henry, Pottinger, were directed to explore the country between India and Persia. The results of their journeys were published by Pottinger in 1816, and amidst much discursive matter contain information of much value, both as confirming the statements of Captain Grant, and furnishing further evidence.

16. **Influence of the Imaum of Muscat as far east as Beyla.**—Pottinger and Christie reached Beyla on the 22nd January 1810. Here an incident occurred, which illustrates the extent of the influence at that time exercised by the Imaum of Muscat. A vessel belonging to the Imaum had been wrecked on the coast near Sonmeanny, and a few trifling articles had been recovered from the wreck. Pottinger was present at the public Durbar, when a letter from the Imaum was read aloud, requesting that the articles saved might be delivered to his people; and orders to this effect were immediately proclaimed by the Dewan. Pottinger however observed that the letter, which was in Persian, was framed in a very respectful style, and without any assumption on the part of the Imaum; and, indeed, the Jam appeared to have been very particular about this point, as he had the

letter carefully interpreted into the Jugdala language, which is the colloquial dialect of this country.*

17. **Independent territory of Bunpore under Mihrab Khan.**—Without minutely following Pottinger's route, it may be as well to state that at Nooshky, he and Captain Christie parted, the latter proceeding in a north-westerly direction, *viâ* Herat, whilst Pottinger took a south-westerly direction towards Kerman. The first station reached by Pottinger of importance to the present enquiry, was that of Bunpore, which was noticed by Captain Grant as the seat of an independent Chief, but which in the present day is under a Persian governor. Pottinger describes Mihrab Khan, the independent ruler of Bunpore in 1810, at considerable length. Mihrab Khan spoke of Captain Grant in terms of unqualified admiration and praise. His relations with the Persian Government may be gathered from the following extract from Pottinger's work:

"Mihrab Khan begged to be informed why we Firingees, or Europeans, did not root out the Persians (whom he styled Kafir Sheeas), saying "I have understood, both from Grant and yourself, that the English Government is eminently powerful; and if that is really the ease, it will find no diffieulty in exterminating that abominable race, for I myself ean dispatch two hundred horsemen and ravage a whole distriet, even bringing off their very dogs." I answered, that those were subjeets altogether out of my line or sphere in life, and what I never gave myself the trouble to think upon.

"I was now desirous, in my turn, of aseertaining preeisely the terms on which the Persians and Belooehes, in general, stood with eaeh other, as a elue by whieh to regulate my conduct on reaehing Nurmansheer; and I therefore enquired if the intereourse was frequent between him and the government of Kirman, or if any species of

* Pottinger, p. 19.

trade was carried on between the two countries. "Intercourse!" rejoined he, laughing, "no; we have had none for these last two years, nor is it likely to be again renewed: a few months anterior to that period Shah Mihrab Khan, Qaem Khan (neighbouring Chiefs), and myself, sent our collective armies on a Chupao *(i. e.,* raid) into Laristan,* and laid waste that province. It was in our possession for nigh three months, and when the troops came away, having immense flocks of camels, they brought all the grain and dates; the consequence was, that there were no revenues forthcoming, and the Hakim of Mcenab† was called to Kirman to be made answerable for the defalcation; but when he represented the true statement of the business to the Shahzaduh,‡ he was released from confinement, and two messengers were forthwith dispatched with threatening Furmans§ to us. We were apprized of this, and wrote to Moorad Khan of Basman, to advise them not to advance nearer than that village; so there they staid until we transmitted them letters for the Prince, setting him and his threats at defiance, and telling him that he was an infamous blackguard."

"This explanatory reply was so interlarded with opprobrious epithets and virulent abuse, that it was impossible to hear it without laughter; and to increase the effect, the old fellow worked himself quite into a rage, and pounded the ground as vehemently with his mace, as though he had been wreaking his vengeance on the bones of the Persians. He afterwards entered into a prolix enumeration of the various kinds of booty that had fallen to his share, the aggregate of which he valued at six thousand rupees, a sum that, though ostensibly small, will be looked upon in quite a contrary light, if we call to mind that there were the combined troops of three powerful chieftains serving on the Chupao; that it was made into a tract naturally sterile and thinly peopled; and that every individual, unless it were the Khanuzads, or houschold slaves of the leaders, received a dividend equivalent to his rank and achievements. The principal articles specified by him were

* The south-eastern province of Persia.

† The capital of Laristan.

‡ A prince, from Shah, a king, and Zaeedun, to be born.

§ Royal letters are so called.

slaves of both sexes, camels, dates, wheat, carpets, matchlocks, and other weapons; horses they seldom get hold of, as the principal inhabitants, to whom they usually belong, mount them on the first alarm, to be prepared for flight."*

18. **Basman, the last town in Beloochistan.**—Pottinger describes Basman as the last town in Beloochistan, and Regan, as the first town in the Persian district of Nurmansheer. The Sirdar of Basman was Moorad Khan, who had married a daughter of Mihrab Khan of Bunpore about two years before Pottinger's visit, and received the Sirdarship as her dowry. Basman was already half Persian. The address of the Sirdar is said to have been marked with all the Persian politeness and urbanity, and this was the first point reached by Pottinger where Persian was the colloquial language.†

19. **Regan, the first town on Persian territory.**—Regan is described by Pottinger as being the first town in the province of Nurmansheer, and, consequently, the first in Persian territory. Indeed, from his account, it seems to have presented every appearance of being a border town. On his arrival the people thought his party were the forerunners of a Chupao, or inroad, of Belooches, and the Chief of Regan, Abbas Allee Khan, was himself a Beloochee, though under the authority of Rusheed Khan, the Governor of the province of Nurmansheer. Pottinger says "Regan is a "very neat mud fort, or rather fortified "village, forming a square of about 250 "yards each face. The walls were high, "and kept in excellent repair, with bas-"tions at the corners and in the centre. "There was but one gate, which led un-"der the southern central bastion; and

* Pottinger, pp. 173-174. † Pottinger, p. 184.

"a guard was constantly kept there to "prevent strangers from having ingress "to the place, a precaution which exists "throughout the whole of this province. "In addition to the fixed watchmen at "the gateway, who are Toofungchees or "matchlockmen, paid by the govern- "ment, sentinels mount in all the bas- "tions round the works as soon as it is "dark, and keep a very vigilant look-out "the whole night, frequently hallooing "and shouting, to encourage each other, "and warn any skulkers who may be "outside that they are on the alert. "These nocturnal tours of duty being "for the safety of the common weal, are "voluntarily performed by the inhabi- "tants, who live in a continual state of "alarm and apprehension, originating "in their dread of the Belooches of "Surhud, Bunpore, and other districts "to the eastward, who seldom fail to "pay them, or some other part of the "Persian dominions, a hostile visit once "or twice a year. The Chief of Regan, "Abbas Allee Khan, is a Beloochee by "birth, as are most of those who live "under his authority."*

20. **Recent absorption of Nurmansheer by Persia.**—It would appear from Pottinger's narrative that, for some years previous to his visit, Persia had been pushing her frontier further and further to the east, in the same fashion as in more modern times. Thus, in 1810, the province of Nurmansheer was included in Persian Territory, and placed under the authority of a Persian Governor; but previously, and until the commencement of the present century, the province had been in the possession of Ghiljyee Affghans. Pottinger's account of Nurmansheer, and of the expulsion

* Pottinger, pp. 189-190.

of the Affghans by the Persians, is well worthy of notice, and is accordingly here extracted in full :—

"The province of Nurmansheer extends, in length, from the waste dividing it from Beloochistan to the city of Bamm, about eighty-five miles; and, in breadth, from thirty to seventy-five. Its boundary to the westward is the province of Kirman, of which, I believe, it is now deemed a component district; to the eastward it has the desert, as already mentioned; and, north and south, two ranges of mountains, the last of which are by much the highest, and I imagine, at all seasons, crowned with snow, as they were so when I saw them, at which period it was exceedingly hot in the plain beneath.

"It is not more than nine years since the Ghiljyee Affghans,* who had long possessed Nurmansheer, were expelled from it by the Persian government, which has invited the tribes inhabiting the frontiers of Beloochistan to repeople the deserted villages; and, since their colonization, they have all embraced the Sheea Islamism, and exult extremely at the empty honor of being subjects of the King of Persia. Of the Ghiljyees, who were thus driven from their homes, the greatest number fled to the province of Seistan, and the cities of Khubees, Neh, and Ghayn, in Khorasan; a few of them are also settled at Kelat in Beloochistan. They were not themselves the original inhabitants of this province, but sprung from a colony that settled there, after the Affghan invasion of Persia in 1719. Whether this settlement was effected by treaty, or from what tribe they wrested it, is a point that I am unable to decide. I however conjecture that they obtained it amicably from Nadir Shah, for although, as the commander-in-chief of the armies of Shah Thamasp, the last and one of the weakest sovereigns of the Suffeveea dynasty, of whom, in fact, he was more the director than the submissive general, that famous warrior entirely subverted the usurped and unstable authority of the Affghans in Persia, he did so as a step towards his own aggrandizement; and as all

* The Ghiljyees are a great class of the Affghan nation.

accounts agree that he was exceedingly partial to his Affghan subjects, after he had obtained the royal dignity, it may be justly concluded that, having removed the Ghiljyees of Nurmansheer from the scope of his ambition, by reducing them to the most abject obedience, he was happy to procure them an asylum in that empire, of which he, even at that time, calculated on being the future monarch. In support of this surmise, it appears that they continued to enjoy this fertile tract unmolested throughout the zenith of his glory; they also conciliated his successors, and were on such friendly terms with Zunds, that they assisted the later princes of that race in their quarrels with the ruling family, a circumstance to which their extirpation is to be ascribed.*

"The city of Bumm was, until the expulsion of the Affghans, as just related, the frontier town of the Province of Kirman; the reduction of it had repeatedly been attempted by them within the last twenty years, assisted by the neighbouring Belooches, as a retaliation for the inroads made by the royal forces into Nurmansheer; and the fortifications have in consequence been so vastly strengthened, that they are now accounted beyond any comparison the most defensible in Persia. They have an elevated site, and at present consist of a very high and thick mud wall, a deep, broad, and dry ditch, with six large bastions on each face, exclusive of those at the corners, which are higher by many yards than the others; the whole is built of mud mixed with straw and fibrous substances, and there is one gate between the two centre bastions of the southern face. The citadel is on the highest part of the eminence on which the town is built, and is well fortified with a lofty wall, and towers at each corner; the area thus enclosed is entirely occupied by the Governor's palace, and buildings belonging to it.

"The widely scattered ruins, and remains of demolished buildings, round the present fort, demonstrate the immense extent of the former city of Bumm, which is reputed to have been, in point of magnificence, in the days of its splendour, equal to any other in Persia. The

* A further account of this Affghan occupation of Nurmansheer will be found in para. 28.

Affghans, when they invaded that kingdom in 1719, are usually allowed to have been the original beautifiers, but not the founders of it, as the town itself was of much more ancient date. It is also quite certain that, whatever might have been the state of it, when the Ghiljyees became masters of it, they were eventually the sole cause, if not the actual perpetrators, of its dilapidation."*

21. **Bunder Abbass under the Imaum, but tributary to Persia.**—Pottinger's information concerning Gombaroon, or Bunder Abass, is more explicit than that of Captain Grant, though in both cases it was obtained on the spot. Pottinger's account is here given in his own words:—

"Gombaroon was anciently the seat of vast traffic, as it served for the continental Bunder, or emporium, of the island of Ormuz; and when Shah Abass the Great, wrested that mart from the Portuguese, about the year 1623, he transferred the whole commerce of it, then the most extensive in Asia, if not in the world, to Gombaroon, and honoured that town by calling it Bunder Abass, or the port of Abass. It flourished for a short time, but on the death of Abass in 1629-30, his successors had either not the means or the wish to protect this colony, which was soon harassed by the people on the sea coast of Laristan, and other predatory and piratical tribes. The English and Portuguese companies gradually withdrew their agents and factories, and as other speculators were deterred from venturing there with their goods, owing to the imbecility of the government and its inability to afford them a safeguard, the place went rapidly to decay. It still carries on trade with Muskat, and several ports of India, the Red Sea, and east coast of Africa; and is garrisoned by the troops of the Imam of the former town, who pays an annual tribute to the King of Persia of four thousand Toomans,† which amount is reported, in some years, to exceed the whole customs. The town is dirty and ill-built: the streets narrow, dark, and choked up with ruins; and, till within these six years, the works were

* Pottinger, pp. 199-202.

† 4,000*l.* Sterling, or 32,000 Rupees.

equally neglected; but the alarm caused by the Juwassmee Arab pirates induced the Imam to repair them, and they are now capable of making a tolerable defence against an Asiatic enemy."*

A similar account is given by Kinneir in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (1816), who, however, makes the amount of customs considerably less. The passage is here extracted:—

"The town of Bunder Abbas, or Gomberoon, (the ancient *Harmozia*), is situated in a barren country, in a bay of the Gulf of Ormuz. It is subject to the Imam of Muskat, and fortified with double walls. This was, at one time, the first sea-port in Persia, and is still a place of considerable trade. The customs amount to twenty thousand Rupees a year; for which, and the tribute of Minab, the Imam accounts to the king of Persia."†

22. **3rd. Travels of Hajee Abdun Nubee in Beloochistan, 1838-39.**—The investigations of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Pottinger had been carried on in consequence of the threatened advance of Napoleon I. upon India; and therefore, after the abdication of the French Emperor, no further interest was taken in that quarter until the threatened advance of Russia twenty-eight years afterwards, and the Persian siege of Herat in 1837-38. In 1838, Major Leech, who was Resident at the Court of Mehrab Khan, Chief of Khelat, dispatched a Mekran merchant named Hajee Abdun Nubee, to procure information respecting Mekran and the surrounding parts of Beloochistan; promising in return to compensate the Hajee for the temporary abandonment of his

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* Pottinger, p. 228.

† Kinneir's Geographical Memoir, p. 201. This account is also confirmed by Sir John Malcolm, in a letter addressed to the Governor General (Lord Minto), dated 10th October 1810. Further evidence upon the same subject will be found at paras. 42 *et seq.*

mercantile pursuits. The Notes taken by Abdun Nubee during his tour, were subsequently arranged and translated by Major Leech, and published in two separate communications in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1844. Judging, however, from the European tone of the Notes, and the European modes of thought prevailing throughout, there is reason to believe that Hajee Abdun Nubee is a myth, and that the real traveller was Major Leech himself in disguise. Be this, however, as it may, the Notes are of value as indicating the changes already in progress, as well as supplying further information. The Hajee proceeded from Khelat, *viâ* Bunpore and Jask, to Muscat, and thence returned along the coast; but for the convenience of comparing his accounts with those of Pottinger and Grant, it has been deemed expedient to extract such information as bears upon the present enquiries, and to exhibit it as nearly as possible in the order of the routes followed by the two preceding travellers, and under the following heads, *viz.*, Gwadir, Gwuttur, Choubar, Bunpore, Basman, Nurmansheer, and Jask.

23. **Gwadir under the Imaum of Muscat.**—The Hajee distinctly states that the port of Gwadir belonged to the Imaum of Muscat. He says that, on the part of the Imaum, there was a Resident Governor, by name Walee Mahommed, an Arab. The proceeds of the port at that time amounted to 3,500 Franca rials, the value of each rial in Bombay being two Rupees and two annas. The people of Gwadir were at that period (1839) much discontented with the Government on account of Walee Mahommed charging both the Gwadir and Muscat duties on vessels go-

ing direct to Bussorah, carrying carpets, grain bags, goats' hair, &c., because, as the Governor of Gwadir said, those vessels formerly went to Muscat and there of course paid the Muscat duties. The two ports of Gwadir and Choubar are said to have formerly belonged half to the Grohkees and half to the Brahoees.* The Brahoees' half was given in grant by Meer Nusseer Khan [the Chief of Khelat, and Beglierbey of Beloochistan during the greater part of the eighteenth century†] to the Imaum of Muscat, father of Sayed Sultan, who took refuge at Khelat during some convulsion of his own State.‡ As the Brahoee State [? Khelat] grew weak and the Muscat Government became strong, the two former ports of Jeewaree and Pasanee were superseded by the new ones of Gwadir, Choubar, and the Gikkee; half of the latter port had also been confiscated by the Imaum. Gwadir was subject to the foray of the people of Mand, on account of the quantity of powder and lead constantly lying at the port.§

24. **Gwuttur under the Meer Sushkaran.**—This port, the first visited by Captain Grant, is situated between the port of Gwadir on the east, and that of Choubar on the west. The fort [? port] belonged to Meer Sushkaran. The proceeds of the port amounted to 130 rials. The port was a small one,

* The Brahoees were more or less under the Khan of Khelat, who is styled by Masson "the Brahooe Khan of Khelat," as a distinguishing name of the dynasty. I cannot, however, find out who the Grohkees were. I fancy they must have been the same as the tribe of Gichkees, a Sikh colony, who in a similar fashion received half the revenue of Panjoor.—Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII., pp. 678 and 802.

† See para. 35.

‡ See para. 37.

§ Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII., p. 802.

having only 15 huts of people; and as nothing is said about the farming of the revenue, it is assumed that the collections were directly appropriated by Meer Sushkaran. This port is said to have been previously one of the principal on the Mekran coast, but had been deserted in favour of Gwadir, owing to the tyranny and extortions of the Governor of Keij. Here, as in the case of Gwadir, not the slightest allusion is made to the exercise of any power or pretensions of any kind or sort on the part of Persia.*

25. **Account of Choubar.**—Choubar belonged to the Imaum of Muscat, who realized from it 2,120 tomans. The farm of the port was granted to Usmán Jagdal, who was the principal trader of Choubar. Meer Abdee, Chief of the Dashtgorees, received 530 rials for protecting the port from inroads from the interior. The Chief of Geh likewise received 40 ducats, the amount of some hereditary right. The duties levied on goods from the interior were farmed for 150 rials, which sum was paid to Meer Abdee. This point is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it indicates that Meer Abdee, Chief of the Dashtgorees, was the protecting Chief; and here again nothing whatever is said respecting any fraction of either sea or land customs going to Persia,† nor of any protection being awarded by Persia.

26. **Bunpore, still independent, under the son of Mehrab Khan.**—At the time of the Hajee's visit, early in 1839, the district of Bunpore was still independent of Persia, and under the Government of Mahommed Ali Khan, son of Mehrab Khan. This ruler had a

* Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII., p. 801.

† Idem, p. 799.

force constantly kept up of 500 men of his own tribe, and 80 slaves of his own purchasing. He collected his revenue at the rate of 300 Bunpore maunds per *gooband*,—an area of land which takes 400 Bunpore maunds to sow. The Chiefs of Mahommed Ali's own tribe had lately quarrelled with him, and had gone over to Prince Temz Mirza,* to invite him to invade Bunpore. The Hajee had several interviews with Mahommed Ali, and the latter even took the Hajee into his Fort at Bunpore, and lodged and entertained him for several days. During this time Mahommed Ali spoke much of the intended advance of the Persians, and showed the Hajee his preparations, which consisted of flooding a few yards of ditch in front of the gate. The Hajee also remarks that the people of Bunpore often spoke of a gentleman who had come there in the time of Mehrab Khan, and purchased horses which he had paid for at Choubar. He travelled with trunks and tents, took notes of the country, and was very fond of walking in the fields. They called him *Gurand Sahib*, (Captain Grant) and said that he had been well treated during his stay.†

27. **Basman: Persian advance threatened.**—From Bunpore the Hajee proceeded to Basman, and it would seem that here, as in Bunpore, fears were already entertained of a Persian invasion. The Chief of Basman was Shahbaz Khan, a Koord; and Mahommed Ali of Bunpore had sent ammunition to this Chief to enable him to hold out his Fort, which was but a small one, against the Persians. The day after leaving Basman, the Hajee was encoun-

* Apparently a Persian Shazada.

† Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII., pp. 699-701.

tered by a party of men who charged him with being a Persian spy, and not only plundered him, but would have sold him for a slave had he not subsequently effected his escape.*

28. **The Hajee's account of the Persian occupation of Nurmansheer.**—The account given by the Hajee of the Persian rule in Nurmansheer is not very clear, but still the following information may be elicited which adds some additional light to Pottinger's narrative. In the reign of Futteh Ali Shah, who reigned over Persia between 1796 and 1834, Futteh Khan Tokhee was Governor of Nurmansheer, part of which district he held in Jagheer, as his father had done before him. The Hajee states that the father of Futteh Khan Tokhee was a Ghiljee, who had been originally brought with other Ghiljees from his native country as hostages by Nadir Shah about 1740. Mahommed Shah, who succeeded Futteh Ali on the throne of Persia in 1834, maintained that he no longer required hostages from Affghanistan, and ordered Futteh Khan Tokhee to vacate Bamean [? Bumm], and retire beyond the Persian frontier. This he did not do until besieged in the fort, which he gallantly defended. At last being obliged to evacuate, he retired to Seisthan and resided there for a year; after which he paid a visit and offered his services to his former friend, the Khan of Bushkurd, who promised him the Government of Punoch, provided he could conquer it from the Belooches. Futteh Khan Tokhee succeeded in this attempt, and was enjoying the Government of Punoch in 1839 when the Hajee visited the place. The English Government was at that time in possession of the Island of Karrach,

* Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol., XIII., p. 703.

and Futteh Khan offered his services by letter to the Resident at Bushire. He was also said to have great influence in Kirman, from being a great ally of Aghar Khan, the head of a large religious sect, and one of the Persian malcontents.* From this account it would seem that the Persian supremacy had been again withdrawn from Nurmansheer subsequent to Pottinger's visit, and probably in consequence of the advance of Russia on her opposite frontier; whilst the designs against Herat which Mahommed Shah had formed in the early part of his reign, had probably led him to complete the re-occupation of the district.

General Ferrier, in his "Caravan Journies," puts the matter in a different light. According to his account the Affghans were permitted to occupy the territory on condition of guarding the frontiers against the advance of their countrymen from Kandahar; but the Persians of the district were so disgusted at the presence of the Affghans, that they fled from the neighbourhood; and the Affghans, disgusted in their turn at the exclusiveness of the Persians, tried in 1845 to obtain permission to settle in Kandahar, then under the Government of Kohendil Shah. It would seem, however, that Kohendil Shah refused to admit such a tribe of bandits into his dominions; and it does not appear what became of them afterwards.

29. **Account of Jask.**—The country of Jask belonged to the Imaum of Muscat, whose resident deputy was Meer Hajee. It was bounded on the east by the river Seereech, beyond which was the district of Gik; on the west by Seereek;

* Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol. XIII., p. 787.

† Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, p. 305.

on the north by the Bashkurd mountains, four koss distant; and on the south by the sea. The revenue was estimated at about 500 tomans, of which the Imaum receives 300 tomans. When there was rain a tax was levied of one-fourth of the produce, which might amount to 6,000 Jask maunds, none of which, however, reached the Imaum. Meer Hajee, the resident deputy of the Imaum, had nine sons, of whom the eldest was Governor of Sereek. The proceeds of the port of Jask were appropriated by Sumael Bijad, who was the Imaum's Jemadar of Balooches. Its farm amounted to 100 rials.*

30. (4th.) **Route of Mr. Macleod on the Mekran coast, 1853.**—Having thus followed the routes of Grant, Pottinger, and Hajee Abdun Nubee, it will be necessary to examine the report of Mr. Maeleod, who furnishes the most important evidence respecting the advances of Persia along the coast of Mekran within the last ten or fifteen years. The circumstances were as follows:—In 1853 Mr. Maeleod, Deputy Collector of the Customs at Kurrachee, paid a visit to certain ports on the Mekran coast; and the particulars of what he saw were embodied in a separate memorandum by Sir Bartle Frere, then Commissioner in Seinde, and submitted to the Government of India. This memorandum, being like the one drawn up by Captain Grant in 1809, an original document of considerable importance, has been printed *in extenso* in Appendix II.; but the results may be exhibited as follows:—

31. **Encroachments of Persia; occupation of Bunpore and Kuserkund, and advance towards Gwadir, 1853.**—At

* By the farm I assume the amount annually paid by the Jemadar to the Imaum in return for appropriating the proceeds.

the time of Mr. Macleod's visit the town of Gwadir was a thriving place, ruled by an Officer known as the "Wullee" of the Imaum of Muscat, who received the customs and town dues. The Khan of Khelat, however, was considered the sovereign of all beyond the town walls; but his local representative was Fukeer Mahomed, Chief of Kej, who was universally regarded as a great tyrant. Mr. Macleod was greatly struck by all he heard of the annual advances made by Persia in that direction. The people of Gwadir stated to him, that it was only within the six or seven previous years that the Persians had been aggressive; but that during that period they had yearly advanced their frontier several stages towards Gwadir. Two years previously they had occupied Bunpore, and since then they had occupied Kuserkund; and advanced parties had levied tribute in the Shah's name up to the river of Kej, which runs not more than forty miles to the west of Gwadir. The people of Gwadir fully expected that the Persians during the coming season (1854) would advance and occupy the place, as they had threatened to do the previous year (1852). Mr. Macleod did not consider that the enterprise would be a very difficult one, as he thought that a score of resolute well-armed men would be able to eject the "Wullee" and the few Arabs who formed his escort.

32. **Policy of the Government of India.**—The visit of Mr. Macleod to the Mekran coast was undertaken ten years ago, when the idea of carrying a telegraphic wire through Asia had not been enunciated. Thus the Military importance of the country was alone taken into consideration, and Mr. Macleod merely represented that any power

in possession of Gwadir might with ease push out small bodies of light troops towards Scinde, and thus divert the attention of the power occupying the line of the Indus from an attack made in the direction of Candahar or Cabul. Accordingly when the memorandum from the Commissioner of Scinde was forwarded to the Supreme Government, Lord Dalhousie was not disposed to attach any great weight to the alleged advances of Persia into Mekran; but he considered that a copy of the Commissioner's Report and letter should be sent to the British Minister at Persia, and that he should be requested to ascertain the truth of these alleged advances and their object. This appears to have been done, but no reply seems to have been received.

II.—Relations of Persia with the Khan of Khelat.

33. **Indefinite pretensions of Persia to the eastward.**—It will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs, that the advances of Persia along the Mekran coast have apparently been at the expense of two different Chiefs, *viz.*, the Khan of Khelat and the Imaum of Muscat. Inasmuch, therefore, as Persia has some indefinite and traditional pretensions to this line of country, it may be necessary to consider the foundations of such pretensions by reviewing her relations with the Khan and Imaum. What those pretensions really are may be gathered from the following extract from Morier's Narrative of a Second Journey through Persia in 1810-1816, as Secretary to the embassy under Sir George Ouseley:—

"On the 8th of February we saw Cape Monze [*i. e.* the head land running out close to Kurrachee on the west]. At the sight of this land we congratulated the Persian Ambassador upon seeing his native soil once again; for al-

though Fatteh Ali Shah [sovereign of Persia in 1810] has no more control over the territories of Scinde and Mekran than he has over China, yet the Persians do not cease to call them a part of their country. In 1739, indeed, the Indus was the limit of Persia, and consequently Cape Monze was included in its territory, but such limits only lasted as long as the power of Nadir Shah lasted, and since then they have retired to the boundaries of the province of Kirman, which on the sea coast terminate at Cape Jasques. According to Arrian the river Arabis, which flows behind Cape Monze, formed the limits of India in the time of Alexander; but in the present wild state of this part of Asia, it would be difficult to establish any specific boundary."*

34. **History of Khelat.**—The details connected with the annals of Khelat may be gathered from a "Brief History of Khelat" drawn up by Major Leech in 1841. This document is of some value as an original authority, and is accordingly printed as Appendix IV. to the present Memorandum. These details have been compared with those in Masson's Memoir on Eastern Beloochistan, Ferrier's History of the Affghans, Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan, the Bombay Selections, and an article in the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica; from all of which it would appear that the leading points in the History of Khelat are as follows:—

35. **1st Period: Persian ascendancy down to the death of Nadir, ante 1747.**—The History of Khelat prior to the time of Nadir Shah of Persia, and of the celebrated Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, is of little consequence to the present enquiry. It will be sufficient to remark that according to tradition, Khelat was originally under a Hindoo ruler of Rajpoot extraction, but that at an early period it passed into the hands

* Morier's Second Journey, p. 24.

of Persia, probably at one of those recurring intervals during which Persia was a conquering power. Subsequently a Persian Governor of Georgian extraction was appointed to Khelat, and this man's tyrannical debauchery in carrying off the daughters of the peasantry led to a successful rebellion on the part of the Khelatees, and to the establishment of an independent rule under a Chief named Ahmed Khan, the progenitor of the late Khans of Khelat.*

Nothing of importance appears to have followed this event until the rise of Nadir Shah, at which period Abdulla Khan was Chief of Khelat. Nadir Shah established his authority in Beloochistan, and continued Abdulla Khan in the Government of the country. Abdulla carried on a war with the Kalora Chiefs of Scinde, and was slain in a battle, leaving two sons; the elder succeeded to the Chiefship of Khelat, but subsequently proving an oppressive tyrant was set aside in favour of his younger brother Nusseer Khan. This latter Chief became the most famous and powerful of all the Khans of Khelat, and was appointed by Nadir Shah in 1739 to be Beglierbey over the whole of Beloochistan. Under Nadir Shah the Persian empire extended to the Indus for the

* The progress of affairs at Khelat corresponds so nearly with the progress of affairs at Candahar, that the coincidence is worthy of a passing notice. Candahar was wrested from the Mogul Emperors of Delhi by the Persians in 1642, during the reign of Shah Abbas II., and was retained by Persia until the end of the 17th century. About that time a Georgian Governor was appointed to Candahar, whose proceedings, resembling those of the Georgian Governor at Khelat, at last drove the Affghans to rebellion. The result, however, was that the Affghans not only asserted their independence, but surged up to Ispahan, and established their own yoke over the Persian empire, which they maintained until somewhere about 1730, when they were finally driven back to their own territory by Nadir Shah.

last time; he died in 1747, and up to that year Nusseer Khan acknowledged the supremacy of Persia.

36. **2nd Period: Affghan ascendancy, 1747-1839.**—On the death of Nadir Shah the Persian empire collapsed, and a new power arose in Affghanistan in the person of Ahmed Shah the Dooranee, who subsequently overthrew the Mahratta confederacy on the one hand, and very nearly annexed the Persian empire on the other. Nusseer Khan of Khelat promptly transferred his allegiance to Ahmed Shah immediately after the death of Nadir; and this he was enabled to do with impunity, for not only was Persia distracted by the convulsions which followed the death of Nadir, but Kurreem Khan, who eventually succeeded to the throne of Persia, had quite enough to do in maintaining tranquillity within the limits of Persia Proper, without making any attempt to re-annex Affghanistan, or to put down the revolt of Beloochistan. Meantime Nusseer Khan was not only Chief of the districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Khelat, but was master of all Beloochistan; and whilst he improved and fortified the city of Khelat, he established the internal government of all the provinces in his dominions. At length in 1758 he threw off his allegiance to the King of Cabul, and declared himself independent. A war ensued between Nusseer Khan and Shah Ahmed, which resulted in a treaty, by which it was agreed that the Khan of Khelat should not be called upon for tribute, but that he should furnish a contingent of troops whenever the Affghan monarch made war beyond the boundaries of his kingdom, and receive in return an allowance in cash equal to the half of their pay. It was also

stipulated that the Khan of Khelat should not be compelled to furnish his contingent for the support of one Affghan Chief against another, nor indeed be obliged to take a part in the internal quarrels that might arise between the Affghans themselves. Nusseer Khan reigned for fifty-six years, during which period he seems to have proved an active, warlike, and politic prince. He died in 1795, and was succeeded by his son Muhmood, who reigned for twenty-four years, and was in his turn succeeded by his son Mehrab Khan, who was slain at the storming of Khelat by the English in 1839. During the reign of Muhmood, the country of Beloochistan was disturbed by sanguinary intestine broils, and the Governors of several provinces and districts withdrew their allegiance from the Chief of Khelat. The following extract from Pottinger's work will perhaps convey the most authentic account of the internal and external condition of Beloochistan during this period.

"The general complexion of the Government at Kelat, and all over Beloochistan, cannot very easily be defined; and must neccssarily be always fluctuating with the different views that the Chiefs may have, or revolutions that occur. When Nusseer Khan was in his full power, the whole kingdom might have been said to have been governed by a complete despotism, because no one could dispute or abrogate any of his orders and laws; yet, at the same time, that ruler so tempered the supreme authority, by granting the feudal chiefs privileges within their own tribes, that, to a casual observer, it bore the appearance of a military confederation.

"The tribes all exercise the right of selecting their own Sirdar or head; but that office, when once fixed, appears to be hereditary. The Khan of Kelat, nevertheless, reserves to himself the nominal power of disapproving, or otherwise, of this selection; but I could not hear of a

single instance of Nusseer Khan having attempted such a measure as refusing to confirm the nomination of the people; and since his son has been at the head of the Government, it is hardly looked upon as necessary to report to him their proceedings on this subject.

"The city of Kedge and town of Gundava, the capitals of the provinces of Mukran and Kutch Gundava, were obliged to receive a Hakim, or governor, appointed by and subject to the pleasure of Nusseer Khan, although those places were inhabited by different tribes; which was deemed by the people to be so great an infringement on their natural rights, that the governor's authority had to be upheld by a considerable body of troops; and the moment Nusseer Khan died the inhabitants expelled them from both places. Muhmood Khan succeeded in enforcing his father's regulation in Gundava; but since that event Kedge has simply paid him a titular homage.

"The power of declaring war and making treaties, connected with the whole of Beloochistan, rested with the Khan of Kelat; and the Sirdars of tribes had no option with regard to assisting him with their troops; indeed, they were not only bound to do so, but also to carry into execution such parts of the treaties entered into as had any relation to the tribe to which they belonged, even though detrimental to what they conceived to be their own interest or advantage; but if the common weal demanded a sacrifice of that nature from any particular community, the Khan of Kelat was expected to make it an equivalent compensation."*

37. **Grant of Choubar and Gwadir to the Imaum of Muscat by the Khan of Khelat.**—It has already been stated on the authority of Hajee Abdun Nubee, that the two ports of Gwadir and Choubar originally belonged half to the Grohkees and half to the Brahoees; and that Meer Nusseer Khan, the Chief of Khelat, ceded the half belonging to the Brahoees to the Imaum of Muscat. This statement is also confirmed, or

* Pottinger, pp. 289-290.

reiterated, by Major Leech in his "Brief History of Khelat."

38. **Present condition of Khelat 1839-63.**—Under this head it will be scarcely necessary to do more than submit the following extracts from official and other authorities, indicating the present relations of the Khan to Cabul and the British power, and the extent of his territory.

The preamble and first Article of the Treaty concluded by Major Outram on behalf of the East India Company with Nusseer Khan, the late Chief of Khelat, who succeeded to the musnud in 1841, will show the present political status of the Khans of Khelat; the Nusseer Khan here alluded to being the great grandson of the famous Nusseer Khan, the contemporary of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Dooranee, after whom he was named.

"Meer Nusseer Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, deceased, having tendered his allegiance and submission, the British Government and His Majesty Shah Soojah-ool-moolk recognize him, as Chief of the Principality of Khelat, on the following terms:—

"*Article I.* Meer Nusseer Khan acknowledges himself and his descendants the vassals of the King of Cabul, in like manner as his ancestors were formerly vassals of His Majesty's ancestors."*

The extent of the Khan of Khelat's territory is thus indicated by Colonel Jacob:—"The dominions of the Khan of Khelat extend from Quetah on the north, to the sea on the coast of Mekran, a distance of near 400 miles; and

* Bombay Selection, No. XVII., p. 143.

from the frontier of Persia beyond Kharran and Punjgoor on the west, to the boundary of British Scinde on the east, a distance also of about 400 miles.* These data are too indefinite to prove of much value, as they will not point out the true frontier of Persia.

Mr. Masson, in his "Memoir on Eastern Beloochistan," is a little more explicit, but unfortunately his knowledge of the Western Provinces, or those bordering on Persia, was but slight. He indicates, however, plainly that the western frontier of Khelat by no means formed the eastern frontier of Persia, for he alludes to independent districts lying between the two.† Kej, the most western province of the Khelat territory, and forming a country of much importance, is said to be now only under the nominal authority of the Khan, though its firm and steady retention was always one of the measures mainly engrossing the attention of old Nusseer Khan.‡

The following extracts from Mr. Masson's work, referring to the Maritime Section of the territory of Khelat, are here given in full:—

"The Maritime Section of Khelat territory comprises the countries bordering on the sea, from the western limits of Scinde to the vicinity of Gwadir, whence the continued line of coast becomes subject to the Arab Chief of Maskát. The eastern extremity of this extensive tract is occupied by the province of Lass, obedient to its own chief and government, yet acknowledging the supremacy of the Khan of Kalât. The remainder is a sterile sandy space, intervening between the ocean and the mountain chains supporting the more elevated provinces of the

* Jacob's Report in the Frontier of Upper Scinde. Bombay Selection, No. XVII., p. 135.

† Masson, p. 291.

‡ Masson, p. 292.

preceding section. Unblessed by fertilizing springs and rivulets, its arid surface displays a dreary succession of yawning ravines, parched wastes, and undulating sand-hills. The scanty vegetation serves to exhibit the poverty of the soil, and to attest its inapplicability to culture. The fervid heat of the sun, on these inhospitable shores, is indeed moderated by the winds, which rage during the greater part of the year, and with so much violence that it becomes questionable whether the inconveniences they occasion are compensated by the exemptions from other evils which they bring with them. Yet, on this desolate coast, we find two small ports, Hormára and Pessaní, flourishing by their little traffic, and maintaining a commercial communication between the natives of the country and those of regions distant and beyond the seas. In former days—but the advantages must have been greater then than now—European intelligence did not neglect this unpromising tract. The substantially constructed remains of forts and residences on various parts of the coast, testify to the settlements of the Portuguese. Of these, a considerable one existed between Hormára and Pessaní, at the creek of Kalamat,—a locality, whose interest was enchanced by the circumstance of its being one of the recognizable stations of the Macedonian fleet under Nearchus. Yet, while freely admitting that the trade with the interior of the country in those days ought not to be estimated by its actual low scale, I cannot believe that the numerous Portuguese stations along the coast were due to it, or supported by its profits. I rather suppose they were intended to preserve the communications between their Indian ports and their great emporium, Ormuz, which, at that early era of navigation, may have been closed by sea during the periodical winds, as they are now to natives. The opulence of Ormuz is remembered but as a dream gone by, or as a subject to moralise upon. Its fall necessarily involved that of its dependent posts and settlements."

The following notices respecting the two small ports of Hormara and Pessani, are also worth extracting:—

"Hormara is a small town and port of Mekrân, containing about four hundred houses, which

for some years has placed itself under the protection of the Jám of Las, to avoid being reduced by the Arab chief of Maskát. It receives governors on the part of the Jám, and a nett sum of one thousand Rupees is annually remitted to Béla, as revenue and the price of protection. This little place has a smart trade with the interior, and its shipping frequent the same foreign harbours as the craft of Súnmíání. The country, for seven or eight days' journey in every direction from Hormára, is of the most sterile and uninviting aspect, yet, in particular spots, are inhabitants located, leading a weary existence in the solitudes around them, but contented, because ignorant of better fortune. On the skirts of the Jabal Malán, a range which presses on the coast between the limits of Las and Hormara, a tribe of inferior consideration, called Gújar, have fixed their seats. Nearer, at a locality named Garukí, the Sangúr, another tribe of small repute, reside under their chief, Mír Bíjár. On the shores of the Kalamat creek, west of Hormára, dwell a tribe deriving their appellation, it may be, from the place; although they believe they came originally from Scinde, where, they assert, the tribe still exists in formidable numbers.

"Pessani is a small port, of two hundred houses, still farther west, dependent on which is the country on the coast between the limits of Hormára and those of Gwadir. Its chief is Mehráb Khân, of the Kalamatí tribe just noted. He pays no tribute to Las or Kalát, but contrives to avoid the acknowledgment of supremacy to Maskát, by pretending to be a member of the Baloch federation. It must be conceded, his little town and territory are barely worth the coveting. The maritime and fishing population of the little ports on the coast of Mekrân, from Súnmíání to Charbár, are denominated Méd, and comprise four divisions, the Gazbúr, Hormárí, Jellar Zai, and Chelmar Zai."

III.—Pretensions of Persia over the Imaum of Muscat.

39. **History of Muscat.**—Before bringing together such information as can be collected respecting the Imaum's possessions on the Mekran coast, it may

be desirable, as in the case of Khelat, to indicate the principal points in the progress of the relations of Muscat both with Persia and the British Government. The information has been gathered from the official narratives published in the volume of Bombay Selections respecting the Persian Gulf, compared with the travels of Niebuhr, Wellsted, Buckingham, and others. The History of Muscat may be divided into four periods as follows :—

40. **1st Period : Ascendancy of the Muscat Arabs, 1658-1736.**—The naval power of the Muscat Arabs was derived in comparatively modern times from the Portuguese. It will be remembered that Persia never has been a naval power, and that the commerce in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean has been carried on by foreigners from time immemorial; even the fleet of Xerxes consisted wholly of Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Asiatic Greeks. There are however two epochs in the modern history of the country, namely, the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the reign of Nadir Shah, in the early part of the eighteenth century, when the attention of Persia has been directed towards the sea. Thus in the sixteenth century the trade between the Persian Gulf and coast of Malabar was in the hands of the Portuguese, who not only had a settlement in the Island of Ormuzp within the Gulf, but one at Muscat without the Gulf, and one or more stations on the Mekran coast. In 1622 Shah Abbas, assisted by the English, destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Ormuzd, in the hope of diverting the trade to his own port of Bunder Abbass; and the Portuguese on that occasion seem to have retreated to their

other port of Muscat without the Gulf. Six years afterwards however Shah Abbas died, and the naval aspirations of Persia appear to have died with him. The Persian power began to decline, and at the same time the Portuguese power was on the decline also. In 1658 the Arabs under the Imaum Seïf expelled the Portuguese from Muscat, and laid the foundations of their own maritime supremacy on the ruins of that of their predecessors. "This Prince," says Wellsted, "drove the Portuguese from "Muscat: he took Zanzibar, and several "ports on the African, a few Persian, "and one or two others on the Mekran "coast, with Bahrein, Kishm, and many "other islands in the Persian Gulf. His "descendants lost Behrein, which threw "off the yoke towards the close of the "last century, but have retained the "others." Towards the end of the century the Arabs of Muscat carried on their piracies throughout the Gulf, and set the feeble Persian power at defiance. Indeed, the navigation of the Gulf was rendered so difficult through the increase of their power, that the English Agent at Bunder Abbass predicted that "they would prove as great a plague "in India as the Algerines were in "Europe;" and during the early part of the eighteenth century down to about 1736, these piratical expeditions extended southward along the coast of Africa and westward to the coast of Malabar.

41. **2nd Period: Disputes between the Muscatees and the Persians, 1736-1787.**—Meantime there had been frequent struggles between two Arab tribes for the supremacy in Oman, namely, the Beni Yemen, of whom the Imaum of Muscat was the head, and the Beni Naseer, of whom the Chief of the Joasmees was at the head. About

this time the Persian empire was once more reviving, or rather expanding only, under the generalship of Nadir Shah. Accordingly one of the parties in Oman, having called in the aid of the Persians, Nadir Shah succeeded in re-establishing the Persian ascendancy in the Gulf, and compelling the Imaum of Muscat to pay tribute. After the death of Nadir in 1747, Persia passed through another period of confusion and weakness, which as usual was followed by the successful revolt of the outlying provinces, and moreover by the establishment of independent governments in Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and Muscat, which have been maintained down to the present day. The Chief of Sohar, named Ahmed-ibn-Said, drove the Persians out of Oman, and in return was elected Imaum of Muscat by the Arabs. About 1770, when Kureem Khan was Shah, he claimed arrears of tribute from Muscat. The Muscat Government however declined to comply. They admitted that they had paid tribute to Nadir Shah, but not as a matter of right, and only because he was too powerful a tyrant to contend against. Kureem Khan was however altogether a different person, and they were prepared to resist his claim. Some hostilities followed, but without result; the Imaum continuing to refuse payment of any tribute whatever.

42. **Contemporary condition of the Independent Arab States on the Sea-Coast of Persia.**—A tolerably clear insight into the relations between Muscat and Persia, within a few years of the death of Nadir, may be obtained by means of the important and trustworthy testimony of Carsten Niebuhr, the father of the Roman historian, and perhaps the most painstaking and intelligent tra-

veller that ever visited Arabia. Niebuhr proceeded from Suez to Muscat, and thence to Bombay, about a century ago, that is between 1761 and 1765; and his description of the people on the Persian sea-coast seems to be of such value as to render it expedient to give it in full:

"OF THE INDEPENDENT ARABIAN STATES UPON THE SEA-COAST OF PERSIA.

"CHAP. CI.—*Of the Arabs inhabiting around the Persian Gulf.*

"OUR geographers are wrong, as I have elsewhere remarked, in representing a part of Arabia as subject to the monarchs of Persia. So far is it from being so, that, on the contrary, the Arabs possess all the sea-coast of the Persian Empire, from the mouths of the Euphrates, nearly to those of the Indus.

"These settlements upon the coast of Persia belong not, indeed, to Arabia, properly so called. But, since they are independent of Persia, and use the same language, and exhibit the same manners, as the native inhabitants of Arabia, I shall here subjoin a brief account of them.

"It is impossible to ascertain the period at which the Arabians formed their settlements upon this coast. Tradition affirms that they have been established here for many centuries. From a variety of hints in ancient history, it may be presumed, that the Arabian colonies occupied their present situation in the time of the first kings of Persia. There is a striking analogy between the manners ascribed to the ancient Ichthyophagi, and those of these Arabs.

"They live nearly in the same manner, leading a seafaring-life, and employing themselves in fishing, and in gathering pearls. They use little other food but fish and dates; and they feed also their cattle upon fish.

"They prize liberty as highly as do their brethren in the desert. Almost every different town has its own Schiech, who receives hardly any revenue from his subjects; but if he has no private fortune, must, like his subjects,

support himself by his industry, either in carrying goods, or in fishing. If the principal inhabitants happen to be dissatisfied with the reigning Schiech, they depose him, and choose another out of the same family.

"Their arms are a match-firelock, a sabre, and a buckler. All their fishing boats serve occasionally as ships of war. But a fleet like this, that must frequently stop to take fish for food, when they should pursue the enemy, can never perform any very great exploits. Their wars are mere skirmishes and inroads, never ending in any decisive action, but producing lasting quarrels, and a state of continual hostility.

"Their dwellings are so paltry, that an enemy would not take the pains to demolish them. And as from this circumstance, these people have nothing to lose upon the continent, they always betake themselves to their boats at the approach of an enemy, and lie concealed in some isle in the Gulf till he have retreated. They are convinced that the Persians will never think of settling on a barren shore, where they would be infested by all the Arabs who frequent the adjacent seas.

"These Arabs are Sunnites. They regard the Persians, who are Shiites, with abhorence, and shun all alliance with them. The mutual hatred of the two sects, was even one cause of the failure of Nadir Shah's attempt to subdue these Arabs. In the prosecution of this object, the usurper had, at immense expense, equipped a fleet of twenty-five large ships upon the Persian Gulf. But as he had no Persian sailors, he was obliged to take Indians, who were Sunnites. These refusing to fight against their brethren of the same orthodox faith, massacred their Shiite officers, and carried off the ships. Towards the end of his life, Nadir Shah was meditating to seize these Arabs, to transport them to the shores of the Caspian Sea, and settle a colony of Persians in their room. His tragical death prevented the execution of this project; and the disturbances in Persia have ever since prevented all encroachments from that quarter upon the liberty of these Arabs.

"Their Government and present political situation seem to me to bear a great resem-

blance to those of ancient Greece. Hostile engagements are continually a fighting, and important revolutions happening upon the Persian Gulf; but the Arabs have no historian to spread their fame beyond their own narrow confines.

"CHAP. CII.—*Of Places subject to the dominion of Persia.*

"THE Kings of Persia, although not masters of these coasts, yet retained some places upon them. In later times, the Persian Governors of these places have shaken off their allegiance, and have, in some measure, erected them into independent sovereignties. The Chief of these are Gambron and Hormus.

"Gambron, a sea-port town in the province of Laristan, belonged anciently to the Persian monarch. After the death of Nadir Shah, a Persian named Naser Khan, made himself master of the province, and, by consequence, of the city. He acknowledges himself vassal to Vakeel Kerim Khan of Schiraz, yet pays no tribute, and respects not the Vakeel's authority, unless when he comes with his army to compel him.

"The city of Gambron, which has been also called Bender Abbass, was famous through all the last century, and in the beginning of the present, as the port of Schiraz, and of all the south of Persia. Its trade was, at that time, very extensive. At present it is very low; nor is there a single European counting-house in the city. This decline has been occasioned by the domestic disturbances in Persia, and the wars and disputes between the French and the English. The Dutch for a while continued to carry on a petty trade here. But since they formed a settlement in the isle of Karek, they have entirely deserted Gambron.

"The isle of Ormus, so celebrated of old, now retains nothing of its ancient splendour. It belongs at present to Mulla Ali Shah, a Persian, who made himself master of it immediately after the death of Nadir Shah, whose admiral he had been. This prince of Ormus possesses likewise a part of the isle of Kishme, the other part being subject to the prince of Seer.

"South from Laristan is Minau, a considerable inland town, six leagues distant from the sea shore. The inhabitants of the district in which it lies are Shiites, and are chiefly employed in agriculture; from these circumstances, they are sometimes induced to acknowledge the authority of the Khan of Lauristan.

"A tribe of Arabs, denominated Belludge, inhabit between Minau and Cape Jaske. They are masters of a good many vessels, and carry on a considerable trade with Basra, upon the Arabic Gulf, and even venture as far as to the coasts of India. These Arabs are Sunnites; and unity of religious sentiments has occasioned their joining the party of the Affghans in the late revolutions of Persia.

"Some geographers represent these Belludge as inhabiting all along the Persian coast, to the mouths of the Indus, and have described them as a warlike people, addicted to piracy. I know not whether they are to be considered as independent, or as tributary to Persia. More probably, they acknowledge no sovereign authority but that of their own Schiechs. Some narratives of travels, performed in the last century, relate the extraordinary adventures of a Prince of Jaske, who withstood the power of Shah Abbass, till he was, at length taken off by treachery. His widow continued to resist the Persian King, and performed deeds worthy of the heroines in the ages of chivalry. But it is to a Schiech of the Belludge that the story is properly to be referred.*

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* Niebuhr does not mention his authority for this incident; but I have found the narrative in Tavernier's Travels through Persia and the East Indies, undertaken in the seventeenth century and published in 1678. As the narrative is very interesting, and illustrates the contemporary state of the country between Jask and Gwadir, it is here extracted in full:

"*Of the Rebellion of the Prince of* Jasque, *a Vassal to the King of* Persia, *in the reigns of* Sha-Sefi *I. and* Sha-Abbas *II.*"

"Between *Cape Jasque*, and *Cape Gwadel*, [i. e. Gwadir] which are the two most Southern points of *Persia*, there lies a mountainous and mershie country, which extends itself from the ocean toward the Province of *Kerman*, and in several places is inaccessible. It is possessed by three petty Princes, the one a Mahumetau, the other two toward the East, both Idolaters. The first is the most poteut of the three, and nearest to the Province of *Ormus*. He also

"The country from Bunder Abbass northward to Delam, resembles the Tehama in Arabia; it is an arid plain, and is called by the Persians Kermesir, or the hot country. In this district I know no place but Khamir, a castle situate upon a precipitous rock, which, with a small tract adjoining, is the property of a particular Schiech. Ships come hither for cargoes of sulphur, of which there is abundance in the neighbourhood."—*Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. X. pp.* 124-126.

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assumes the title of Prince of *Jasque*, as his Ancestors did before him. Now after *Shah Abbas* the first had conquered *Ormus*, he went about to have made himself master of all the coast that extends itself beyond *Cape Jasque*; but meeting with resistance, he only obtained that the Prince of the Country should acknowledge the King of *Persia* for his Lord, and that as his Vassal he should pay him an annual tribute. And indeed during the reign of *Shah Abbass*, who knew how to make himself feared, the Prince of *Jasque* payed his tribute very orderly. But *Shah Sefi* succeeding his grandfather very young; this tributary Prince shook off his yoak, and refused to pay. Which not being regarded in the reign of *Shah Sefi*, the Prince of *Jasque* thought to do the same in the reign of *Shah Abbass* the second. But at length after he had refused to pay for some years, the *Kan* of *Ormus* pretending the country to be under his jurisdiction, and that the King's honor was concerned in the Prince's refusal, incited *Shah Abbass* to send forces against him to reduce him to obedience. The King granted the Commission to him that had undertaken the business: who presently gathering together an Army of 20,000 men, tho most part Horse, thought to have surprized his enemy. To which purpose that he might take the nearest way, he marched directly toward *Cape Jasque*. But as it was the shortest cut, it was the most dangerous; insomnch that the *Kan*, who hunted all the way he marched, according to the custom of *Persia*, had the misfortune to fall into a bogg, where he was stifled, together with 20 or 30 horse-men more. The death of tho *Kan* being divulged, the Army retreated back again: but as soon as the King, received the news, he sent the brother of the deceased *Kan* to succeed him. In the meanwhile the Rebel Prince, believing within himself that he was not to be thns at quiet, and expecting to be attacked by the new *Kan*, stood upon his guard. And indeed the new *Kan* marched with all the speed he could, and entered the territories of the rebellious Prince, but being beaten was forced to make more haste back again to *Ormus*, with the loss of an abundance of men.

"The Prince of *Jasque* puft up with this success, did not believe that the *Persians* wonld be so hasty to come again; and thereupon ho resolved upon a voyage for *Mecca* to give the Prophet thanks for his victory. To which end he embarked at the nearest place he could to *Cape Jasque*, thence to make sail toward *Arabia*. Bnt the Governor of *Kan* understanding his design by his spies, way-laid him by sea, took him and bronght him to *Ormus*. At that time the heats being excessive, the Governor was retired,

43. **3rd Period: Rise of the Wahabees, 1787;—English expeditions of 1809 and 1819.**—The rise of the Wahabees, who are first mentioned in the Bombay Records of 1787, changed the aspect of affairs in the Persian Gulf. From 1736 to the appearance of this new power, the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat and the Chief of the Joasmees are said to have abandoned piracy, and to have engaged in cultivating dates and fishing for pearls, which commodities they carried to the ports of India, Yemen, Africa, Scinde, Kutch, and Bussora. But under the ascendancy of the Wahabees, and the contemporary decline of

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according to custom, to the mountains some ten or twelve leagues from the City, whither the Prince was carried and brought to the *Kan's* tent. But while the *Kan* was expecting the return of the Messenger which he had sent to the King for orders what to do with the Prisoner, the Prince's wife hearing of her husband's misfortune, and being a woman of manlike courage, taking along with her about five or six hundred horse, with little noise and by long marches she at length fell unawares upon the *Kan* about midnight, killed him with her own hand, cut in pieces the greatest part of his men, whom she found asleep, carried away ten or twelve of his wives, and set her husband at liberty in spite of the *Persians*, who had not time to rally themselves.

"The news of this defeat coming to Court, the King being highly incensed, sent away the third brother to be Governor of *Ormus*, with special command to the Governours of *Schiras*, *Lar* and *Kerman* forthwith to raise 30,000 horse to revenge, affront, and reduce the Rebel. The *Kan* of *Ormus* marched at the head of that Army, and gave battle, but the Prince being succonred by the other two Idolatrons Princes, his neighbours, the *Persians* were again beaten. Only the Prince of *Jasque* lost his Lieutenant-General, a valiant Captain, and a very good Soldier.

"The King understanding that the Lieutenant-General was the *Kan's* Prisoner, gave him leave to do with him what he would, in revenge of his brother's death: who thereupon devised the most cruel torments that ever were heard of. For he first caused the body of the Lieutenant-General to be larded with lighted candles, and then setting him upon a camel ordered him to be led softly about the streets every day in the very heat of noon: a torment almost insufferable, which the heroic Indian nevertheless endured with an invincible conrage. After the *Kan* had tormented him in this manner three days together, the chief of the *Holland* Company and other strange Merchants, abhorring so much cruelty, begged of the *Kan* to surcease his rigour, who readily granted them their request."—*Tavernier*, p. 21.

Turkish and Persian influence in the Gulf, piracy was largely prosecuted. At length in 1809 the British Government sent an expedition to support the Imaum against the Wahabees, but the impression created appears to have been slight and temporary, from its not having been followed up by measures of precaution and general supervision. A second expedition was accordingly sent out in 1819-20; which was followed by the imposition of a general treaty upon the Arab Chieftains, and the appointment of a Political Resident at Bushire, to whom was entrusted the duty of insisting upon the full and strict observance of the conditions of the treaty, for which purpose the services of a naval and military force were placed at his disposal.

44. **4th Period: Relations of the Imaum with Persia and Great Britain, 1820-1863.**—The chief object of British connection with the Imaum has been to suppress piracy and slavery, and consequently the question of the rival claims of Persia and the Imaum to ports on the Mekran coast, has apparently never, up to the present moment, been distinctly brought forward. The following incidents are however worthy of notice as illustrating the character of existing relations.

45. **State of the Imaum's possessions on the Sea Coast of Persia, 1821.**—It will have been seen from the evidence already furnished, that the following distinction must be laid down between the possessions of the Imaum on the so-called Persian Coast, and those on the Mekran Coast *viz*:—

(1.) Bunder Abbas, Minab, and their dependencies, for a long time farmed by the Imaum from Persia.

(2.) The lordship or suzerainty over the Arab tribes on the Mekran Coast exercised by the Imaum from Jask to Gwadir.

(3.) The possession of the ports of Choubar and Gwadir, originally procured from the Khan of Khelat.

The main question, upon which, indeed, the whole dispute turns, remaining for after consideration, namely, the exact point where the line of separation or frontier should be drawn both between the territory held in farm by the Imaum and that held in full suzerainty, and between the territory held in suzerainty by the Imaum and the territory belonging to the Khan of Khelat. The extent and condition of the Imaum's territories in 1821 are thus described by Fraser:—

"Besides his hereditary dominions on the Arabian coast, the Imaum at present holds in possession the islands of Kishmee and Ormuz in the Gulf; and rents from the court of Persia, Gomberoon or Bunder Abbass, and its dependencies, including the district of Juroom, which extends from Meenab on the south-east, to Khumeer on the north-west inclusive, along the coast, a tract of about ninety miles.

"The revenues of the Imaum are derived from various sources; he receives a tenth part of the produce of the territories of Omaun; a duty of ½ per cent. on all merchandize passing up the Gulf on Arab bottoms; he rents, as has been seen, considerable tracts of country, including valuable mines of sulphur, from the Persian government, and he possesses considerable landed property in the country of Omaun.

"The first source is trifling: the produce consisting almost entirely of dates: and it is said, his share does not suffice for the consumption of his family.

"The duties collected on merchandize passing up the Gulf, is a far more productive head of revenue: from the province of Omaun alone it amounts to from ninety to a hundred and twenty

thousand dollars, annually: and from all other ports of Arabia, and from Zanguebar, above 30 or 40,000 dollars more.

"I could not learn anything certain of the value of his Persian farms; the country about Meenab is fruitful and productive; the sulphur mines at Khumeer not only furnish materials for the powder used by government, but a large surplus for exportation, and the salt of Ormuz is also a valuable article of commerce.

"The Imaum's landed property in Omaun is rented out to tenants, like that of his subjects; and it is said he receives from it several thousand dollars a year; but I never heard the amount accurately stated.

"Commerce is a great, and perhaps the chief source of the Imaum's income. He possesses five fine ships, his private property; two of which are frigates, the *Shah Allum* of 50, and the *Caroline* of 40 guns; besides two large Buggalows and four Batteels:* and when he requires it, can command the boats and vessels of his subjects. He trades to all parts of India and the East; to the coasts of Arabia and Africa; to Madagascar and the Mauritius; besides the ports of the Persian Gulf. The trade is indeed chiefly a carrying trade; but Muscat is a great entrepôt for warehousing and exchanging the produce of many nations, and in such a trade, the sovereign doubtless possesses many advantages over his subjects."†

46. **Pretensions of Persia in the Gulf: Bombay Mission of 1821.**—The nature of the general pretensions of Persia may be gathered from those which she put forward after the destruction of the pirates by the British Government, which has already been described, and which led to the dispatch of a Mission to Persia by the Bombay Government in 1821. The following remarks of Fraser will explain the exact state of the case:—

"It was about the commencement of this year that the discontent which had for some

* Buggalows and Batteels are different descriptions of vessels used on the Arabian coast.

† Fraser's Journey into Khorassan, pp. 15-16.

time been felt by the Court of Persia at the British operations in the Gulf, became more openly expressed. The chief grounds of complaint were, the occupation of the island of Kishmee by our troops, and the destruction in various parts of the Gulf, of certain boats, which, although understood to be piratical vessels, and the property of Arabs, the Persians claimed as belonging in reality to merchants of that country."*

"No application was made to the Court of Persia upon the occupation of Kishmee, although so close to its shores; in the first place, because the island was found in possession of the Imaum of Museat, who readily granted us permission to occupy it; and in the second place, if government were at that time aware of the claims which Persia lays to this and all other islands in the Gulf, it probably considered them as nugatory; the more so, as that power never took the smallest part or interest in the late operations, or in the affairs of the Gulf."†

The result of the enquiries which were instituted by the Envoy, are recorded by Fraser. The main question at the time was, whether the islands of Ormuz and Kishmee were to be regarded as independent conquests, or merely as part of the dependencies of Bunder Abbass, which were acknowledged on both sides to have been farmed from Persia. The point of the discussion is now altogether different, but still the information elicited bears incidentally upon the present enquiry, and involves some points for after consideration. It is therefore given in full as recorded by Fraser:

"The Ben-i-maainee tribe of Arabs originally resided at Koong, on the Persian shore of the Gulf; but about 80 years ago [*i. e.*, about 1740], they took the island of Kishmee from Moollah Allee Shah, Koongee, who was its chief on the part of the Persian government; and they rented Bunder Abbassee and its dependencies from Nadir Shah

* Fraser, App. A., p. 15. † Fraser, App. A., p. 7.

(who then swayed the sceptre of Persia), in the same manner as the Imaum of Muscat does at the present day; while Sheikh Mahomed of the Bustuck tribe, who till then had been in possession, was removed from thence. It appears, however, that Sheikh Abdoolla Maainee was unable to retain possession of the places thus rented, in consequence of the enmity of the Bustuckees, who had by his influence been removed; and he was forced to go to the Persian Court to obtain additional and stronger firmauns of possession, which having received, he became enabled to retain his farms.

"It has been asserted, nor as far as I have heard, has it been disproved, that the islands of Kishmee and of Hormooz, were enumerated among the dependencies of Bunder Abbassee, in the firmaun granted by Nadir Shah to Sheikh Abdoolla Maainee, and it seems equally true, that after the death of that prince, some of the Ben-i-maainee tribe still residing at Kishmee, did continue to pay tribute to Aga Mahomed Khan, his successor, and uncle to the present king of Persia; in fact, neither of these sovereigns were likely to have permitted them to continue in possession, had they not strictly performed their engagements; they were too powerful, and too fond of money, to have submitted to any defalcation.

"Sheikh Suggur Maainee, the father of the present Sheikh, was for some time chief of the island of Kishmee, and was succeeded by Moollah Hoossain Mainee, who rendered himself so odious by his tyranny and oppression, that the inhabitants applied to the Imaum of Muscat, and begged him to come to their relief.

"Seyud Sooltaun, then Imaum, came accordingly, and about twenty-eight years ago, took possession, not only of Kishmee, but of Hormooz and Bunder Abbassee, with its dependencies; and since that time, he and his successors have paid to the Persian Government the same rent as Moollah Hossain Maainee had previously done.

"The Ben-i-maainee tribe still reside at Kishmee and Bunder-Abbassee; and one or other of its chiefs have, till lately, been governors

of these places, subject to the orders of the Imaum; at present, however, Syff-bin-Nubham of the Imaum's own tribe, is chief of the Bunder-Abbassee, and his younger brother resides at Hormooz.

"That Bunder-Abbassee or Gomberoon and its dependencies on the Persian main-land have ever been, and continue to form a portion of the Persian dominions, and are now only held from that power, upon payment of a stipulated rent or tribute, none, not even the Imaum himself, attempt to deny; but he asserts that the islands of Hormooz and Kishmee were conquered by the Ben-i-maainee tribe from Persia; and that he, by force of arms, in his turn, took them from that tribe; not only without any opposition on the part of Persia, but without remonstrance, or any notice whatever taken of the transaction: that these Islands are not, and never were included among the dependencies of Bunder-Abbassee, nor are mentioned either in the firmaun by which they are held, or in the receipt which is annually sent from the Court of Sheerauz, on payment of the rent for Bunder-Abbassee. Finally, that these islands are his by conquest; the Persians being unable to retain them, and that the present king might, with equal propriety, lay claim to the sovereignty of India, of Egypt, or Syria, because some of the former kings, at different times, had extended their conquests over these countries, however unable their successors have been to retain possession of them.

"Those, on the contrary, who take the other side of the question, affirm, that not only were the islands in dispute mentioned in the original firmauns, as among the dependencies of Bunder-Abbassee; but that both the chiefs of the Ben-i-maainee tribe, and the late Imaum, considered them as such; the rent for the whole being paid to the Court of Persia under one head.

"The decision of the question may be considered to rest on two points: first, whether the firmauns granted to Seyed Sooltaun, when he obtained possession of Bunder-Abbassee and its dependencies, do really enumerate among these dependencies the islands in dispute; and whether the Imaum agreed to hold them upon these terms. Secondly, whether the Persian

Government could be considered as in possession of the disputed islands, or capable of maintaining them, for some time previous to their capture from the Ben-i-mainee tribe.

"The original firmauns have not as yet been produced, to clear off the first point; and with regard to the second, it may be observed that Persia has at no time possessed a naval armament, by means of which she might acquire or retain transmarine possessions; this being particularly the case in the present reign: and from the time of the expulsion from Kishmee, of Moolla Allee Shah, it has no footing whatever, on either of the disputed islands."*

47. **Nature of the alliance between the Imaum and the English, 1825.**—In 1825 the question arose of how far the Imaum and the English were mutually bound to assist each other; the Imaum being anxious that the English should aid him in putting a stop to all maritime warfare in the Persian Gulf. It seems that the Imaum had interpreted the second article of the treaty of 1798, to imply the existence of an offensive and defensive alliance between himself and the British Government; whereas it was only intended to denote a strict friendship, and not in any way to disturb the neutrality existing on both sides as regarded each others wars. The following is the article of the treaty referred to:—

"From the recital of the said Nuwab, Mehedy Ali Khan, my heart has become disposed to an increase of the friendship with that State, and from this day forth, the friend of that Sirkar is the friend of this, and the friend of this Sirkar is to be the friend of that Sirkar; and in the same way the enemy of this is to be the enemy of that."†

As the explanations which were exchanged on that occasion might possibly prove of importance, the narrative of

* Fraser, App. A., pp. 16, 17.

† Bombay Government Records, No. XXIV., p. 248.

what transpired is here given in the words of Lieutenant Hennell, the Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf:

"In December 1825 the British authority in the Persian Gulf had an interview with the Imaum, on which occasion His Highness intimated, that he considered his connection with the British Government in the light of an offensive and defensive alliance; and, further, recommended that as top should be put to all maritime warfare in the Persian Gulf, as the most effectual means of suppressing piracy. In the reply to the despatches communicating the above particulars, it was shown, in a detail of considerable length, that although one of the articles of the Quolnamah or agreement, concluded by Mehedi Ali Khan, stated that the friends and enemies of the one party stood in a similar relation to the other; yet that this was merely intended to convey a general notion of strict friendship, and that it was so completely contradicted by the other stipulations, and the numerous communications bearing upon this point subsequently made to His Highness, as well as by the transactions which had taken place between the two States since its conclusion, as to make it perfectly evident that the same understanding of neutrality on both sides in each other's wars had been always avowed and acted upon. The plan of insisting on the maintenance of maritime peace was considered by the Government as impracticable, even if desirable, on account of the absence of any means to compel the inhabitants of the Persian Coast to accede to it, as well as its unequal operation in increasing the power of the military, and diminishing that of the naval, tribes on the Arabian side of the Gulf. Shortly afterwards, the Resident reported that he had had an interview with His Highness, and succeeded in impressing on his mind the true nature of the amicable relations now subsisting between the two Governments, and that His Highness had fully acquiesced in the propriety of the views submitted to him."*

48. **Disturbed state of the Imaum's rented possessions on the Persian Coast, 1846.**—In 1846 two serious dis-

* Bombay Government Selections, No. XXIV., p. 193.

putes broke out between the Imaum of Muscat and the Persian authorities, in connection with the possessions rented by the former on the Persian coast; and at one time it seemed likely that the proceedings taken on either side would culminate in a war. In 1846, a Muscat merchant, named Mahomed Ali Bundera, visited the town of Bushire; upon which the Persian Governor of that place, instigated by one Meer Bauker, did his utmost to extract money from him, and at last threatened torture. Mahomed Ali Bundera accordingly agreed to pay 750 tomans, but managed to escape from Bushire without paying the money. Meer Bauker then pretended that the 750 tomans was a debt due to himself, on the plea that he had guaranteed the payment to the Persian Governor, and had been compelled to disburse the amount. Accordingly, under the authority of the Governor, he seized seven cases of indigo that had been sent to Bushire for sale by the nephew of the Imaum, on the pretence that the real owner was Mahomed Ali Bundera. The indigo was then transmitted to Shiraz, and could not be recovered; and even the Resident interfered in vain. Accordingly, the Muscat authorities seized a quantity of silk belonging to some Persians, and mutual recrimination ensued. About the same time the Imaum had a second ground of complaint against Persia. The Persian Governor of Fars dispatched a body of troops against Bunder Abbass, with the view of exacting a large sum of money from Shaikh Syf bin Nubhan, the Governor of Bunder Abbass and Deputy of the Imaum. The Imaum retaliated by threatening to destroy Bushire; and Syf bin Nubhan would have carried

out the threats of the Imaum, but was restrained by the Resident. At last, on a change in the Persian ministry, redress was granted to the Imaum. The narrative of the proceedings, by Lieutenant Disbrowe, the Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf, will be found printed at length in Appendix VI.

49. **Resumption of Bunder Abbass and its Dependencies by Persia, 1854.** —The following additional data, furnished by Captain Kemball, Resident of Bushire in 1854, may be considered useful as showing the resumption of Bunder Abbass and its dependencies by the Shah, and indicating the then existing state of Muskat :

"The Imaum of Muskat is independent, but pays Zukat, or religious tithe, to the Wahabee ruler, Ameer Fysul, at the rate of 20,000 crowns per annum ; this amount being 12,000 crowns for Muskat, and 8,000 crowns for Sohar."

"The Imaum has hitherto farmed Bunder Abbass and its dependencies from the Persian Government. These districts have lately been resumed by the Shah, but, if not recovered by force, will probably be restored on the payment of an increased rent."

"On the Coast of Oman, the Imaum's territory extends from Ras-ool-Hud to Sohar. In addition to his hereditary dominions on the Arabian and African Coasts, the Imaum holds in possession the islands of Ormus and Kishm, and the tribes on the Mukran Coast between Jask and Pussem acknowledge him as their feudal lord. No correct estimate can be formed of the area of the Imaum's possessions."

"Muskat, as a general commercial entrepôt, possesses considerable trade. Its manufacture of coarse stuffs, in use amongst Arabs, is insignificant. The principal article of export is dried fish ; from the Mukran Coast hides and wool are brought in small quantities for exportation. The harbour of the town, though small, is good and safe. The coast elsewhere is generally open, and more or less accessible from the sea. Little or nothing is known of the interior of Oman."*

* Bombay Selections, No. XXIV., pp. 288, 289.

IV.—Resumé of the Evidence.

50. **Main points in the enquiry.**—Having thus submitted in detail all the information which could be collected upon the questions under consideration, it may be advisable to bring under one view the main points in the whole enquiry, and the propositions which may be legitimately drawn from the cumulative testimony which has been adduced.

51. **Persia and the Khan of Khelat.**—It has already been pointed out that since the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, Persia has exercised no sovereignty over Affghanistan or Beloochistan. The progress of affairs in Affghanistan is not within the scope of the present enquiry, but in Beloochistan the Khan of Khelat has been nominally the master; though it must be admitted, that of late years many of the chiefs, especially in the western quarter, have been virtually independent. Nor can the extent of a legitimate jurisdiction be determined by the collection of revenue, for, when the collections are made at a distance from Head Quarters, they depend upon the actual Military force employed on the work, and consequently very often degenerate into a mere border foray. Thus whilst the Khan of Khelat could not collect revenue from the western chiefs without the employment of a force of matchlock-men, the more remote chiefs in that neighbourhood, such as the one at Bunpore, were altogether independent, and carried on intermittent forays into the heart of Kirman. The Mahratta raids in Hindustan of a century ago were much of the same character, but these irregular incursions were in their case, superseded by the levy of black mail or chout, which soon became a fixed and understood tax, if not a legitimate one. But on

the Persian frontier the conditions are altogether different, and judging from the scenes described in General Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, the ordinary horrors of frequent forays by barbarous chiefs have been heightened rather than repressed by the measures adopted by Persia in her outlying provinces, added to the corruption which prevails in all directions. Nadir Shah seems to have endeavoured to protect Kirman by establishing a colony of Affghans in Nurmansheer to oppose the inroads of other Affghan marauders from Kandahar; but the remedy appears to have proved worse than the disease. Of late years the tyranny and rapacity of the Persian Governors, and the atrocities and wrongs committed in the name of justice, are such as to nullify any excuse, which Persia might otherwise have urged on the score of civilisation, for pushing her frontier further to the east, and for exercising a jurisdiction over territories to which she has no rightful claim.

52. **Persia, Khelat, and Muscat.**—Whilst such has been apparently the normal state of the country in the interior, the coast has been under conditions altogether different. A trade has been carried on from different ports on the Mekran coast, of which the leading staple probably consisted of slaves, but which was in a great measure supported by the cargoes of pilgrims who procceded every year to the tomb of the Prophet. This trade passed in the seventeenth century from the hands of the Portuguese to those of the Imaum of Muscat; and Fryer, a trustworthy English traveller who visited Muscat in 1677, distinctly asserts that the Imaum was guardian of the Prophet's tomb, and that the Mus-

sulman princes of India sent him rich presents every year by the vessels carrying the pilgrims.* Meantime Persia never has been a Naval power, and even Shah Abbas was obliged to call in the naval assistance of the English before he could drive the Portuguese out of Ormuz. Her natural strength has always lain in her Cavalry, and her conquests have always taken a direction by land, either towards Syria, or the Caucasus, or India. Under such circumstances, and considering the character, race, and religion of the Arabs on the sea-coast of Persia and Mekran, as opposed to that of the Persians of the interior, nothing could have been more natural than that the suzerainty of the Imaum should have extended all along the coast; though, considering the proximity of Bunder Abbass and Minab, and their respective dependencies, to Persia Proper, circumstances must have existed tending to lead the Imaum to consent to take these particular districts on farm; but, as will presently be shown, there is every reason to believe that this territory held in farm extended only to Cape Jask, and no further.

53. **Extent of the sea coast originally farmed by the Imaum from Persia, and recently resumed by the Shah.**— The dependencies on the coast of the Persian Gulf, originally farmed by the Imaum, have been recently resumed by the Shah.† This is an important point, because it is probable that on the strength of this resumption, and not on the ground of any pretensions as regards the Khan of Khelat, Persia asserts her right to all the line of coast without the walls of Choubar and Gwadir. It is true that Captain Kemball states

* Fryer, p. 220. † See para. 49.

that these districts, if not recovered by force, will probably be restored on the payment of an increased rent, but such a contingency under present circumstances can scarcely be expected. Here then the question arises of what was the extent of the original farm. Upon this point the facts set forth in paragraph 46 should be taken into consideration. Where are the original firmans granted by the Shah to Syud Sultan? What is the extent of the dependencies enumerated in these firmans? These questions were asked in 1821, and if the original firmans were produced then, or can be produced now, they would at once clear up the dispute; for it may be reasonably inferred that Persia, without a Naval armament, and without Naval aspirations, and singularly eager for revenue, would have enumerated all those dependencies upon which she could have hoped to extract a single extra toman from the Imaum. It might, perhaps, be remarked that the acquiescence of the Imaum in the resumption of the farm seems somewhat extraordinary; but this may possibly be accounted for on the ground of the decreased value of the ports in question, arising from the suppression of the trade in slaves; whilst in all probability the measure was carried out because the Imaum withheld from Persia the amount of yearly rent due.*

* Since writing the above, and whilst these last pages are being printed, I have seen a statement of Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly in a letter to the Bombay Government, dated 16th February 1863, to the effect that the lease under which the Imaum farms Bunder Abbass from Persia has still thirteen years to run! It is difficult to reconcile this statement with that of Captain Kemball, already quoted, to the effect that Bunder Abbass and its dependencies had been resumed by the Shah. At the same time the fact of the existence of a lease is important, for, no doubt, such a lease indicates with sufficient accuracy the actual extent of the territory held by the Imaum on farm.

54. **Extent of the sea coast of Mekran in the independent possession of the Imaum.**—The evidence on this point should perhaps be considered under two heads, *viz.*—

(1.) How far the Imaum can be regarded as the suzerain on the coast from Jask eastwards?

(2.) How far he can lay claim to the possession of the Ports of Choubar and Gwadir?

The evidence furnished seems to indicate that such a distinction is necessary, for whilst it is plain both from Niebuhr's statements in 1765, and from Masson's statements in 1843, that the Imaum is regarded as the feudal lord of the Arab tribes from Jask eastward, it is equally evident that the suzerainty must have radiated from Muscat, and finally reached Choubar and Gwadir, rather than that it should have radiated from the latter places, after the grant of the half revenue only had been made by the Khan of Khelat to an Imaum during a temporary exile.

55. **Suzerainty of the Imaum of Muscat from Jask eastward.**—Captain Kemball, Resident in Bushire, stated explicitly in 1854* that the tribes on the Mekran coast between Fask and Pussem [*i. e.* Jask and Pessani] acknowledge the Imaum of Muscat as their feudal lord. Masson's evidence (1843) is even more definite.† He says that the maritime section of Khelat territory extends from the frontier of Scinde to the vicinity of Gwadir, and that from that spot westward the continued line of coast is subject to the Arab Chief of Muscat. But again we are told that the country

* Para. 49.

extending from Gwadir eastward to Hormara is dependent on Pessani, and is under a Chief who pays no tribute to the Khan of Khelat, but yet avoids acknowledging the supremacy of the Imaum of Muscat by pretending to be a member of the Belooche confederation. Again in 1839, Hajee Abdun Nubee, who travelled along the coast, says that both Gwadir and Choubar belonged to the Imaum, as well as the country of Jask westward to Seercek. Captain Grant (1809) is more explicit still. He shows plainly that the country westward of Choubar belonged to the Imaum as far as Jask, at which point the territory of Minab and Bunder Abbass, and their respective dependencies as farmed from Persia, seems to have commenced.*

The origin of this state of things appears to be sufficiently explained by Niebuhr.† The unauthorized advances of Persia from Cape Jask towards Gwadir, are so plainly described by Mr. Macleod, and indicated on the map accompanying this memorandum, that it is perhaps scarcely necessary to recapitulate them. It will be sufficient to state that the independent territory of Bunpore has been absorbed, and that the Persian outposts along the coast have been pushed within the last few years from Cape Jask to between 250 or 300 miles nearer the banks of the Indus.

56. **Possession of the Ports of Choubar and Gwadir by the Imaum.**—The tenure on which the Imaum of Muscat holds the ports of Choubar and Gwadir is by no means so satisfactory; and there seems reason to believe that dormant claims upon those ports might be put forward by the Khan of

* Paras. 12-14. † Para. 42.

Khelat. The tradition that the Khan granted the half of the revenues of those places for the support of an Imaum during a temporary exile* is confirmed to some extent by Captain Grant,† who, as regards Choubar, asserts that originally the revenue derived from that port was divided between the Imaum and some of the Mekran Chiefs, but that shortly before his visit the Imaum had seized the whole. This point is of some importance, for, by recognising the claims of the Khan of Khelat to the ports of Gwadir and Choubar, we at once admit the claims of the Khan to the surrounding territory, against which Persia would not have a single argument to urge, inasmuch as her pretensions rest upon the supposition that those ports have been held in farm from her; whereas they have, I think, incontestably been held from the Khan, and the Imaum has to all appearance committed an act of ingratitude in seizing the whole of the revenues, when the half only had been originally granted him, and that, too, not as a right, but as a favour.

57. **Four propositions established by the foregoing enquiry.**—It is now submitted that the four following propositions have been established by the foregoing enquiry :—

(1.) That the Imaum has no valid claim upon the country from Bunder Abbass to the boundary of Jask Territory at Scereek, which was for many years farmed from the Persian Government, but which has been recently resumed by the Shah.

(2.) That the suzerainty of the Imaum extends from Jask eastward to

* Paras. 23-37. † Para. 7.

APPENDIX I.

CAPTAIN GRANT'S JOURNAL OF A ROUTE THROUGH THE WESTERN PARTS OF MEKRAN.

Having received instructions from Brigadier General Malcolm to examine the western countries of Mekran, I embarked on board the Hon'ble Company's Cruizer *Ternate*, and sailed on the 18th of January 1809 from Bombay.

29*th January* 1809.—Arrived at Goadur, my instructions directed me to land at this place; but on enquiry the country was found to be in such an unsettled state, that Captain Seton thought it advisable that I should land further up the coast.

January 30*th*.—Landed at Gwuttur, a village belonging to Mír Soban; it consists of about 150 mat huts and a small mud fort: the inhabitants are chiefly fishermen, who exchange their surplus for grain from the interior; there is not the slightest cultivation about the place; water is procured by digging 2 or 3 feet in the sand, but after a short time it becomes brackish. Two nullas fall into the sea at this place, one from Champ and Dashtyarí, the other from Surbaz and Bawú; they are dry, except during the rainy season, commencing in November and continuing 3 or 4 months.

February 1*st*.—Marched to Nagor, 24 miles, the first 2 miles over a swamp, occasioned by water discharged from the nullas, the remainder of the road over a barren plain, except within 2 or 3 miles of Nagor, where some slight signs of cultivation were observable. This village consists of about 250 mat huts and a small mud fort; the country to the North about 1 mile has numerous wells, and produces dates, cotton, and tobacco, but beyond this it is a mere desert.

Nagor is the residence of Mír Soban, whose territory extends from Jewaní, on the bay of Gwuttur, to Chobar and about 40 miles inland. This country is generally termed Bawú Dashtyarí, these being the names of his 2 largest villages. This tribe is termed Judgall, and is originally from near Sinde, the language of which country they still retain. The Forces of this Chief amount to about 300 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry, but the whole of these could only be collected on an actual invasion of his country: their arms are the matchlock and sword: his revenue is about Rupees 6,000. This tribe is of greater weight in Mekran than any other, its alliance being courted by most of the neighbouring Chiefs.

I was furnished with letters from Captain Seton to Mír Soban, and from their influence was received with every attention; indeed, that I was able to perform this journey at all, can only be ascribed to the high respect Captain Seton's* name is held in throughout all Mekran.

The produce of this country is wheat, joarí, and cotton, but the crops depend altogether on the rains for water; there is generally one barren year out of 3, and this of 1808-9 was the unlucky one: in a favorable season enough is produced for 2½ or 3 years' consumption.

February 7*th*.—Marched 10½ miles towards Chobar to wait for letters of credit from Muscat; the road very bad, through ravines; no wells, but plenty of water lodged in hollows.

February 8*th*.—The road for 10 miles as yesterday to 19 over the plain of Cambel, quite barren for want of rain; ascended a hill to 22 miles and halted; rain water only procurable from hollows. Tízcopan is a small village lying at the foot of the hill.

February 9*th*.—The road to 3 miles over the hill and very rugged to Chobar 6½ miles; road good. This place consists of about 300 mat huts and a mud fort built on a slight

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* Captain Seton, of the Bombay Establishment, was resident at Muscat and Envoy to Sinde.

eminence on the eastern side of an extensive bay. The surrounding country is quite barren, except a few gardens; near the town good water is procured from wells sunk 12 or 15 feet in the bed of a nulla. There is a continual intercourse between Chobar and Muscat; ghee and cotton are the chief exports. This is likewise the mart where the inland countries barter their produce; no great quantity of provisions could be furnished without some previous notice, but after a plentiful year and with one month's preparation, a large supply of grain and dates could be collected. Sheep, goats, and bullocks are easily procurable. The Duties here amount to about Rupees 5,000; this was divided between the Seid of Muscat and some of the Mekran Chiefs, but the Seid has now seized the fort and retains the whole.

February 11th.—Marched 6½ miles to Tiz, formerly a place of some importance, but nothing now remains, but 50 or 60 huts; it lays in a valley about ½ a mile broad and 2 long, surrounded by steep hills, except to the south, where it is open to the sea. There are but 2 roads leading into the valley, one from the West between the sea and Hills, the other over the Hills from Chobar : they were both well fortified.

February 18th.—Received my letters of credit from Muscat, but no bills above Rupees 200 were procurable on the inland towns.

February 21st.—Marched towards Nagor, the road to Tizeopan the same as before described; thence over a plain : halted at 26 miles; some scattered cultivation for the last 5 miles; water procurable only from hollows.

February 22nd.—Road to 6 miles over a plain to 17 through ravines to Nagor, 20 miles over a plain : this route is the longest, but best from Chobar; but it has no water in the hot weather. After procuring letters from Mír Soban to the Chiefs of the country, I pursued my journey inland; my letters purported that I had come to Nagor to purchase horses; but none being procurable of the kind I wanted, I had proceeded further in hopes of being more fortunate.

February 25th.—Marched towards Kaserkand at 4 miles; palms and water to 6, over a plain, to 12 miles over steep hills, to 18 over the plain of Dashtyarí; halted on the banks of the Kajú Nulla. This plain is about 15 miles broad and 20 long, and, in favorable seasons, is remarkable for its fertility. The Kajú intersects it from north to south, but only furnishes water for irrigation during the rains. The inhabitants are scattered about in hamlets of 8 or 10 huts each; water in plenty on the road and procured by digging 2 or 3 feet in the nulla.

February 26th.—The road to 11½ miles over a plain; here the cultivated part of Dashtyarí ends, to 15 among hills, Pír Dastgír, a small village with water; at 19½ entered the Kajú Nulla, halted at 22 in the bed of the nulla. The road to-day good to the nulla, the rest stony and difficult; water from a cleft in the rocks.

February 27th.—Marched 24½ miles over hills and through the Kajú; water as yesterday, but none on the road.

February 28th.—To 12 miles through the Kajú, to 16 through a stony valley, to 19 over a plain to Kaserkand. For the last three days' journey there are no villages; the road lays mostly in the bed of the Kajú Nulla, which is generally ½ a mile broad. The country on both sides is covered with high hills of barren rock; these hills are thinly inhabited by Baloches, whose flocks find a scanty subsistence in the beds of the nullas.

Kaserkand lies in a fertile valley, about 21½ miles broad, having the Kajú Nulla running through it. The cultivated part is about 8 miles in circumference; the town stands on the west side, and consists of about 500 huts and a large mud fort: water is plentifully supplied from 25 large springs on the north side of the valley; wheat, rice, and dates are produced in the greatest luxuriance. The wheat in Mekran is reaped in the end of March or beginning of April, rice in the beginning of September, and dates gathered in July.

The Chief of this place, Shaik Samandar, is independent; and, besides the town of Kaserkand, possesses some little territory to the north; but his whole revenue does not exceed Rupees 1,000 yearly. The inhabitants are about 3,000 in number.

At Kaserkand I met Mahomed Khan, Chief of Geh; he was the only person under whose protection I could proceed further inland; but as he was going to Nagor, I was obliged to wait his return, that I might be furnished with proper persons to accompany me.

March 17th.—Mahomed Khan having returned, I accompanied him to Geh, at 4½ miles Heit, a fine village with a fort, belonging to the Chief of Búg; at 9 miles Búg, a short distance on the left: these two places are well supplied with spring water and abound in palms; they lie on the banks of the Kajú; the Chief is Mír Mohibbie: the road to 11 miles lies in the Kajú, thence to Geh, 41 miles over hills and through ravines. Geh is situated between 2 nullas coming from the east, and a 3rd larger one from the north; all these nullas abound in springs, some of them hot: the town consists of about 600 huts and a large high mud fort situated close on the banks of the large nulla; it is reckoned the second place in Mekran, Keij being the first, and its dependencies are of greater extent than those of any other State; they stretch from Chobar 100 miles along the sea coast and 80 inland. The revenue of this Chief is not above Rupees 4,000 yearly, and he may be able to collect about 3,500 armed men from his own districts and those of the petty Chiefs, with whom he is on a good footing.

This State was formerly much subject to be plundered by the tribes on the borders of Mekran and Persia, but has for a few years enjoyed peace from these depredations.

March 21st.—Marched towards Bunpore. The road this day over hills and through ravines to 14 miles; Hechan, a fine village, with a fort situated on the banks of a nulla; its lands are well cultivated and watered; the inhabitants are about 2,000. The dependencies of Geh extend thus far.

At this place I met with a person who had assumed the character of a Seid and was travelling over Mekran and the adjacent countries; he understood most of the Oriental languages and some of the European. I could discover nothing from him at this time; he afterwards sent me a note, saying he was an Armenian, but I could not find out whether he was employed by any one.

March 22nd.—Marched to Sarhí, 21 miles; the road to-day is exceeding steep and difficult, through the Hechan Nulla; it has a stream of water flowing nearly the whole way. This is one of the Passes into Mekran from the north; there are 8 Passes between Minab and Kelat-i-Sewir, and they are all so difficult that the passage might be obstructed by a very small body of men.

The greatest elevation of the Mekran mountains is attained at this place; the streams to the south flowing towards the Indian Ocean and those to the north towards the Gulf of Persia.

March 23rd.—At 6½ miles, Oghín, a small village, with water and palms; at 13, Peib, a Fort, and chief place of the valley of Lashar. This valley is about 8 miles broad and 25 long, and had a number of fine villages abounding with palms; but from the tyranny of the Bunpore Chief, to whom it is tributary, it is now much on the decline: it can furnish 500 good soldiers. At 19 Gordor, a small village and fort; at 26 halted: the road for 8 miles through ravines, the remainder through the Nulla of Lashar; springs of water in most parts.

March 24th.—At 2 miles Esfaca, a large village and fort; at 14 quit the Lashar Nulla and enter on sand hills; at 27 Gízkok, a halting-place, but no village; the water brackish; numerous flocks among the adjacent sand hills.

March 25th.—At 10 miles the Bunpore Nulla, with a stream of water 20 yards wide and 3 feet deep: the sands extend thus far; at 13 miles Bunpore, the road through cultivation and jungle. The Fort of Bunpore is situated on an extensive plain, and from the height of the mound

of earth on which it is built is visible at the distance of 25 miles; it is of mud, small, and crowded with buildings: the town consists merely of a few huts, occupied by the Chief's relations and dependants: the inhabitants in general live in huts scattered about as their flocks or cultivation call their attention; the immediate district of Bunpore is about 5 miles broad and 30 long, stretching from east to west, and, being well watered with springs, produces grain in such abundance as to supply most of the neighbouring countries; it has a desert of sand of about 25 miles broad on each side of it; that on the south is bounded by the Mekran range of hills, and that on the north by a range running parallel. The present possessors of Bunpore invaded it about 25 years ago, and, dispossessing the former inhabitants, settled themselves; they are called Narroís from their former country, Narro, about 250 miles E. N. E. of Bunpore: their Force when collected is 300 Cavalry, well armed and mounted, and 2,500 Infantry. Their chief employment is plunder, their expeditions being generally directed to the westward, extending to Minab and Bunder Abbas: the inhabitants and cattle constitute the chief spoil; the former are sold as slaves to merchants from Candahar, who bring horses in return. These expeditions have been in some measure checked since the establishment of one of the Persian Shahzadas at Kerman about 3 years ago.

The Baloches of Lower Mekran are not so habituated to rapine as the tribes inhabiting the borders of Candahar and Persia: fear of these latter obliges travellers, of whom the greater part are pilgrims from Cabul and the Punjab, to take the route of Sinde, and thence travel through Mekran.

From the bad character of the Bunpore Chief I found it impracticable to penetrate to Minab by the direct route; I therefore returned into Mekran by the Pass of Champ.

April 1*st*.—Marched 8 miles to Gwarpusht, a small village with springs and palms; the road is crossed by the Bunpore Nulla, which loses itself in the sands about 40 miles west of Bunpore.

April 2*nd*.—The road leads over a desert of sand for 21 miles to Shurda, a fountain in the hills; to 26 miles over sand skirting the hills; to 36 miles over hills; halted at Surmích, a small fort and village; it has a well-watered spot of about 4 miles in circumference and depends on Bunpore.

April 3*rd*.—At 6 miles attain the summit of the hills, where there is a very narrow Pass, whence the descent, though slight, is to the south by the Kajú Nulla, which takes its rise about this spot; at 9 miles Champ a short distance on the right; it is the residence of an independent Chief, who can raise about 1,000 excellent soldiers; his name Mír Onba; the chief produce of this country is very fine dates. Halted at 33 miles; water rather scarce the latter part of the road.

April 4*th*.—Marched 23 miles through the Kajú, the banks skirted with palms and houses, and water flowing nearly the whole way. The descent this day is great, but gradual.

April 5*th*.—At 16 miles Kaserkand, the road as yesterday, and plenty of water; at 26 miles Búg. The Pass from Bunpore into Mekran by Kaserkand is much easier, though longer, than that by Geh. Forage for horses is scarce on this road.

April 6*th*.—Marched 12 miles towards Geh.

April 7*th*.—Marched to Geh. Being obliged to go to Chobar to pay for the horses I had purchased at Bunpore, I left my followers at Geh, wishing to pursue a route as far from the coast as possible.

April 8*th*.—Marched towards Chobar, the road leading through the nulla; at 10 miles the Hechan Nulla joins; it falls into the sea between Buzem and Tank 30 miles west of Chobar; at 33 miles quitted the nulla, which has water flowing most of the way, and is in many places skirted with palms; to 35 miles through ravines; to 41 over plains. Halted at a nulla with water.

April 9th.—The road to 21 miles among hills and ravines. Here commence the plains; at 36 miles Parag, a small village with water from wells; at 43 miles Nímkhor, a salt water river, unfordable when the tide is in; at 48 miles Tiz: some parts of the plains had been cultivated, but from want of rain the crop was very scanty; there are very few inhabitants on this road.

April 10th.—Marched to Chobar and, having transacted my business, returned in the evening to Tiz.

April 11th.—Marched 48 miles towards Geh.

April 12th.—At Geh 41 miles.

The direct route to Minab through Beint and Buskurd being too mountainous for camels and horses, I was obliged to pursue the route of Jask.

April 13th.—The road leads through a nulla for 10 miles to 13 over hills; crossed the Hechan Nulla; halted at Petab, a small village with palms and water at 28 miles. No inhabitants on the road, but plenty of water.

April 14th.—At 16 miles Wajbís, a small village with water; at 26 halted at Korandab, no village but plenty of water; the road this day leads through a large nulla abounding in forage; the Nulla of Beint joins here.

April 15th.—At 16 miles Zengín, a small village with water; at 27 halted at Bashín. Forage and water in plenty: the road continues in the same nulla as yesterday.

April 16th.—The road to 9 miles over stony plains to the wells of Balug; at 19 crossed the nulla with water in it; at 26 halted at Karwan, on the banks of a branch of the same nulla. This day's march leads over the plains between the sea and mountains; the inhabitants reside in temporary huts, removed from place to place for the convenience of forage, their flocks of camels and sheep being very numerous.

April 17th.—At 9 miles the wells of Kashí in the bed of a nulla; at 34 the wells of Súruk; no water on the road between these stations.

April 18th.—At 11 miles Sudeich, a village with palms and water; at 14 a nulla; at 17 Malike Chadig, a high mound of stones extending from the mountains towards the sea, marking the boundary of Mekran. The dependencies of Geh end at this place, and those of Jask commence; at 22 Hímend, a small village and wells; at 29 Gabríg and a nulla with the wells sunk in its bed.

April 19th.—Marched to Jagín, 21 miles; no water on the road, but plenty at the halting-place from a nulla.

April 20th.—At 10 miles a nulla with wells, but the water brackish; at 18 the hills extend to the sea, at 26 miles Jask; a few palm plantations on the road this day: Jask lies about 2 miles from the sea and 6 from the hills; the town consists of about 250 huts and a mud fort, but is now almost deserted from a pestilential fever having raged here for some months; the Chief had removed his residence to Serík, about 80 miles off. The water is from wells and mostly brackish: the country around for some distance had been cultivated, but is now much neglected. In the last 5 days' journey over the plains a number of spots had been cultivated, but the crops had mostly failed for want of rain. Forage for horses everywhere abounds.

April 21st.—At 7 miles Bamadí, a small village with palms and wells; at 20 amongst; hills; at 28 Súrks, a cultivated plain with palms and water; at 33 halted at Shírahan, a large village deserted; water good and in plenty from wells. The hills in these parts are not so crowded together as in Mekran, but admit a free and good passage between them.

April 22nd.—Halted.

April 23rd.—At 7 miles a nulla with salt water; at 10 Go, a small village with water and cultivation; at 17 Bareizg; the water bad and scarce; at 25 Sekoè, a large village and fort; at 31 Nemudi a large village and fort; at 37 Guz, a large village; at 38½ a nulla: rain having fallen in the adjacent hills this nulla had a torrent of water in it; at 46 miles Serík,

the residence of Mír Hají, Chief of Jask; it contains about 600 huts and a large mud fort it is about 4 miles from the sea and 6 from the Hills of Buskurd; from Shírahan to Gero the country is called Beaban, though better inhabited and cultivated than any in these parts; and, indeed, the whole way from Jask plantations of palms are numerous and the crops of wheat had been tolerably abundant. The wells in these parts do not supply much water, and a number of them are brackish. Forage is scarce near the road, but abundant on the sands near the sea shore. Jask is tributary to the Imam of Muscat and pays about Rupees 2,500 yearly. The inhabitants are Baloches quite up to Minab; their language approaches nearer Persian than that of the Eastern tribes, which is more mixed with Scind; their religion likewise changes from the Suní to the Shíah sect.

April 24th.—Halted.

April 25th.—At 2 miles Teroe, a small fort and village; at 6 Gero, a large village and fort; a nulla runs close to it; the dependencies of Jask extend thus far: at 13 miles the hills extend to the sea; at 25 Kohistag, a fort built on an insulated hill on the sea shore; the wells are on the beach. Halted at 28 miles; water and forage in plenty. The hills retire from Kohistag behind Minab, and do not approach the sea again till beyond Bundur Abbass.

April 27th.—At 5 miles a salt nulla; at 18 the cultivated parts of Minab commence; at 19 Balali, on the banks of the Minab Nulla; at 27 halted at Hukmi. The Fort of Minab is situated partly on a hill, and is divided into the upper, centre, and lower forts: it is of little or no strength; the town is large and the houses built in much more commodious manner than any I have yet met with; a nulla breaks through the hills close to the fort and forms a Pass from the Eastward: it and the cuts made to diffuse its waters serve as ditches to the fort; there is a continual stream of water flowing, but none reaches the sea, being consumed in fertilizing the lands: the cultivated parts of Minab are about 45 miles in circumference, producing palms in abundance; this district likewise supplies grain to most of the neighbouring countries; its villages are numerous, each having a small fort for the inhabitants to retire to in case of unexpected invasion. Minab would be a most convenient place for an army to halt at to refresh and collect its provisions: forage is so abundant that the cattle of the neighbouring countries are sent in great numbers to remain there during the hot season.

The Chief's name is Mír Golam Ally, but he is quite dependent on the Imam of Muscat, who receives about Rupees 30,000 yearly from this district and keeps a small garrison in the fort. Although not paying revenue direct to Persia, Minab may be considered as part of that kingdom: the neighbouring Persian Chiefs are on a good footing with it, and lend their Force and protection against its disturbers.

27th April.—Halted.

28th April.—At 7 miles the cultivated parts of Minab, and at 28 miles a cistern and caravanserai, but both much out of repair; at 33 the Nulla of Koventi; at 43 a salt nulla; at 50 Maknokha, a small village and fort, with wells and cultivation; at 56 Bundur Abbass; the road to Maknokha over a barren salt plain. There are 3 roads from Minab to Bundur Abbass, the centre one, by which I travelled, another by the sea shore, and a third along the foot of the hills: the last is most frequented as having a number of villages and good supplies of water. Bunder Abbas is in possession of the Imam of Muscat; it is fortified with several walls within each other without ditches; the country around is barren and the water bad. A good trade is carried on from the interior, the caravans arriving in the cold weather, during which time grain is procurable in very large quantities: the customs of the place amount to about Rupees 20,000, for which and the Minab tribute the Imam of Muscat partly accounts to Persia.

Mekran is divided among a number of petty Chiefs; the principal are those of Bunpore, Geh, Bawu, Surbaz, Keij, Dizec, Penjgore, and Balah.

Surbaz lays about 50 miles E. S. E. of Bunpore, and commands one of the Passes leading into Mekran. This State was formerly of much greater power than at present, holding the whole country down to the sea, including Bawu and Dashtyarí; the lower districts have lately been wrested from it by the Judgalls, a tribe whom the ancestors of the present Chief brought from near Balah and settled here to enable themselves to resist the power of Keij; its chief places are seated on the nulla which passes Bawu; the produce is mostly dates.

Keij is reckoned the first city of Mekran, and lies about 120 miles east of Kaserkand, opposite to one of the Mekran Passes; its power is now merely confined to a small district near the town; it has 2 forts, the larger being held by a Governor from Kelat-i-Sewir, the smaller by the Chief, Marrab Khan; he is of a tribe called Gijki, from the name of a town some days' journey N. E. of Keij: the produce of Keij is the same as that of Surbaz; the nature of the country is mountainous. Dizec lies one hundred miles east of Bunpore, and its inhabitants are nearly as famous for their rapine as the Narroís in their plundering expeditions; they have been known to move upwards of 200 miles in 3 days, sweeping the country of its inhabitants and cattle: the territory of Dizec is a mixture of plains and mountains. Penjgore lies 100 miles E. N. E. of Dizec, and is still tributary to Kelat-i-Sewir: its territory is mountainous.

Balah lays a short distance inland from Lonemeany; the inhabitants are Judgalls and are in a better state than most of the Baloche tribes.

Buskurd, which is included in Kerman, lies on the western extremity of Mekran, and occupies the angular nook of land which projects into the Indian Ocean and forms one side of the entrance of the Gulf of Persia, leaving a small extent of plains between its mountains and the sea; it is a remarkably hilly country and is inhabited by a brave and hardy race, who sometimes infest the roads towards Minab; it yields excellent dates, and carpets of a mixture of cotton and wool are its chief manufacture; springs of water abound throughout it. Mekran was conquered by Nassír Khan, Chief of Kelat-i-Sewir, but on his death, about 15 years ago, either his son's indolence or the country producing little advantage has caused this authority to be relinquished, and the present Chief has only possession of a fort at Keij. Braoví is the name of the Kelat tribe, and they are in a better state of civilization than any of the Baloches, a considerable intercourse subsisting with Hyderabad, Candahar, and Korachey: the climate of Kelat is so cold that there is snow 4 months in the year.

The whole Force of Mekran may amount to about 25,000 men, but in the present state of things it would be impossible to make them act together; indeed, the country has not resources to maintain them in a body for any considerable time. When a Chief takes the field, he summons his vassals, who are obliged to attend him at their own cost for 40 days, but the affair is generally decided in 12 or 15; instead of receiving pay, these men are assessed at a lower rate than the rest of the inhabitants, and are frequently altogether exempted. As soldiers the Baloches are neither remarkable for bravery nor for a deficiency of that quality, but in general they might be depended on as steady men; they are very expert with the matchlock, which, with a sword, shield, and large knife, forms their equipment: they seldom quit their houses unarmed; there are a great number of them employed by the Arabs of Muscat on board their Dows and Ships, and they are reckoned very faithful.

The inhabitants of the lower and centre countries of Mekran are chiefly employed in agriculture, the manufacture of cloths, and an attention to their flocks; they are, I think, a quiet and well-disposed people. The Baloches of the hills, who lead a savage life apart from the towns, sometimes infest the roads. In the higher countries the inhabitants are more inured to blood and rapine, esteeming attention to their land as an object of much less importance than arms; but I found them hospitable and a manly freedom in their behaviour; they are a more robust and a braver race than the southern tribes, and so much have they prevailed in all their contests, that the name of a Narroí strikes terror throughout Mekran.

The principal object of my journey having been to ascertain whether it were possible for a European Army to penetrate through this country to Scind, I will proceed to deliver my ideas on that subject. There are 2 routes by which this might be effected; the first by marching east from Minab and entering Mekran by the Pass of Rumishk or Fanoeh, continuing the route by Beint, Geh, and Keij at the distance of about 90 or 100 miles from the sea coast till it falls into the road leading from the inland countries to Korachey.

The commencement of this route, that is, from Minab to Fanoch, has from all reports plenty of water, and, indeed, the common road from Chobar to Minab formerly led by Fanoeh; in the whole tract between Rumishk, and where the route joins the Korachey road, water is plentiful and the country produces dates in considerable abundance; flocks are met with, but not very numerous; grain is scarce. This road would be almost impassable for Artillery from the mountainous nature of the greater part of it; it would be best adapted to the Infantry as furnishing a sure supply of water and a considerable quantity of provisions, which could never fail altogether, as the palm trees themselves offer a sure resource at all seasons: it would be advisable for no larger bodies than 5,000 men to move together, as the roads are in many places very difficult.

The second route is along the coast by Jask and Chobar to Korachey; this route is nearly uniform the whole way over plains between the sea and mountains. In the part I travelled over I experienced no want of water, except in a small tract between Shírahan and Serík, about 40 miles, where the water is soon dried up in the wells; but this is of less consequence, as they are very numerous. Little or no rain had fallen this year, and yet the nullas always afforded a large supply of water. Provisions would not be procurable, except precautions had been taken to collect them at Chobar or Goadur; but flocks both of sheep and camels are numerous. This road would be best adapted to the Artillery and Cavalry from its level nature and from its furnishing everywhere supplies of forage for horses; the troops should move in bodies not exceeding 2 or 3,000, as the water in many of the stations is confined to one spot.

The opposition of the natives might impede but not obstruct this passage; it would most effectually be offered in the upper route, where irregular troops might continually skirmish; in the plains it would avail nothing. I do not think any would be offered, except instigated by some foreign power; and to effect this no difficulty exists.

Nothing that has fallen under my own observation has been mis-stated in the above pages; whatever has been received from report has been carefully selected: but should there be any errors under this head, they must plead for their excuse the circumstances under which the information was collected.

(Sd.) N. P. Grant.

APPENDIX II.

MEMORANDUM OF MR. MACLEOD'S TRAVELS IN MEKRAN IN 1853.

Mr. Macleod, Deputy Collector, Customs, employed a portion of the slack season during the last monsoon in visiting some of the neighbouring ports on the Mekran Coast. His subsequent illness has prevented his submitting any written Report of what he saw, and the following particulars are taken from his letters while on the journey, or from what he has orally stated to me:—

2. He extended his trip considerably beyond any place he had before visited, and returned by boat from Gwadir, about 300 miles distant from Kurrachee in a direct line, but nearer 400 by the route he followed in going thither.

3. He travelled by camel, and found no difficulties but such as the scanty population and want of good roads and supplies accounted for. He was everywhere received by all classes with the greatest respect. This may be partly owing to his being so well known and highly esteemed by the Mekran traders who resort to Kurrachee; but he expresses his belief that any Englishman would be equally well received.

4. Sonmeanee he found much fallen off since he had visited it some years ago. The exactions and misgovernment of the Jam of Beyla, the immediate ruler, a feudatory of his relative the Khan of Kelat, joined to the increased facilities afforded by the Port of Kurrachee, had diverted almost all the trade to the latter port.

5. Oormara and Gwadir he found thriving places; the latter was ruled by an Officer known as the "Wullee" of the Imaum of Muscat, who receives the customs and town dues, but the Khan of Kelat was considered the sovereign of all beyond the town walls; his local representative was Fukeer Mahomed, Chief of Kedge, who was universally complained of as a great tyrant.

6. In reply to enquiries as to the proceedings of the American traders on this coast, Mr. Macleod was informed that their transactions last season were very limited in comparison with previous years. It had been the custom of the Americans, whose ships are generally fitted as whalers, to call at the ports on their arrival on the coast and enquire the price of wool, &c. If the price asked did not suit them, they went away and called again before leaving the coast. Last season the Bunyans combined to keep up prices when the Americans first called, in the expectation that, as in former years, they would revisit the ports before leaving the coast. In this hope the Bunyans were disappointed; the Americans did not return, and the Bunyans, after waiting till the best part of the season was passed, had to send their wool to Bombay and Kurrachee, and seemed now less inclined to wait for American customers.

7. The trade between the interior and these ports is direct *viâ* Kedge, Punjgoor, &c.; and Mr. Macleod considered it, from all he heard, capable of considerable extension, if greater security to life and property were afforded on the lines of road leading inland. He saw reason to believe, however, that whatever might be its extent, it might ultimately be made to centre at Kurrachee, with very trifling exceptions.

8. He was greatly struck by all he heard of the annual advances made by Persia in this direction. The Force employed by the Shah is very small, but more than sufficient to overcome the very insignificant opposition with which it has met or is likely to meet, and perhaps as much as the limited resources of the country could support. The people of Gwadir stated that it was only within the last six or seven years that the Persians had been aggressive, but that during that period they had annually advanced their frontier several stages

towards Gwadir. They occupied Bunpoor a couple of seasons ago, and have since occupied Kupurkund; and advanced parties had levied tribute in the Shah's name up to the river of Kedge, which runs not more than 40 miles from Gwadir; and the people there fully expected that the Persians would, during the coming season, advance and occupy the place, as they had threatened to do last year. It did not appear that the enterprize would be a very difficult one, as Mr. Macleod thought a score of resolute, well-armed men would have been ample to eject the "Wullee" and the few Arabs who formed his escort.

9. When Sir Henry (then Lieutenant) Pottinger travelled in Mekran in 1814, the Persian Frontier was fully 250 miles west of Gwadir, *vide* the Map annexed to his Travels, and pages 168-249, &c.

10. Who holds Gwadir, or a few hundred miles more or less of the barren highlands of Mekran, may be, in itself, a matter of very little importance; but a hold on that place would afford the means of diverting the attention of the power occupying the line of the Indus, at any time when an attack on that frontier was threatened from the direction of Candahar or Cabool.

11. Arrian vividly describes the frightful sufferings of the Army of Alexander in their march through Mekran; and the difficulties of the route have been commonly supposed to be a secure barrier against the transit of a large armed Force: but from what Mr. Macleod saw of the country, he was led to believe that, supposing the country to be now in the same state as when Alexander marched through it, he would have found a much better road by keeping near the sea coast, and that the sufferings of the Macedonian Army were mainly owing to the route chosen having been too much inland; something of this kind seems deducible from Arrian's narrative, as Alexander seems twice to have altered his route so as to keep nearer to the coast, and thereby found water, of which he had been previously in great need.

12. Be this as it may, it is clear from Mr. Macleod's descriptions, that any power in possession of Gwadir might with ease push out small bodies of light Troops towards Sind, and without coming near enough to risk their own safety, they might unsettle men's minds and divert attention from real points of attack further north. For this reason it may be thought expedient to watch the movements of Persia in that quarter, and enquire what the Persian Officers on that Frontier are about.

13. On the subject of the import of slaves into Mekran, sometimes kidnapped from British India, Mr. Macleod has addressed a separate letter, of which extracts have been submitted to Government. Every one assured him that the fear of the displeasure of the British Government had of late years greatly checked and almost stopped the practice by lowering the marketable value of Indian slaves in Mekran.

KURRACHEE,
The 13th Oct. 1853.

(Sd.) H. B. E. FRERE,
Commr. in Scinde.

THE Government of Bombay has forwarded a Memorandum from the Commissioner in Scinde representing alleged advances annually made into Mekran by the Government of Persia; and has observed that it seems undesirable that Persia should obtain a footing in Mekran.

I am not disposed to attach any great weight to the alleged advances of Persia into Mekran, regard being had to the nature of that country as bordering on our frontier; but I think that a copy of the Commissioner's Report and letter should be sent to the British Minister at Persia, and that he should be requested to be so good as to ascertain the truth of these alleged advances and their object.

8th December 1853.

DALHOUSIE.

APPENDIX No. III.

EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN BONNAMY'S MEMORANDUM ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA, 1836.

DESCRIPTION OF BALOOCHISTAN.—The country of Baloochistan lies between the 25th and 31st degrees of North latitude and the 58th and 68th meridians of East longitude. It is bounded on the South by the Indian Ocean, West by Persia, North by Cabul, and on the East by Scinde.

CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS.—Its inhabitants are a hardy, brave, and hospitable, though a depredatory, race. So little are they under the control of authority, that not only do the various tribes wage mutual war, but on any occasion of grievance, or frequently from the thirst of plunder alone, they organize and execute a regular foray into the territory of their enemies, carrying off all that is transportable, burning and devastating the rest. These expeditions are called "Chapoos;"* they are often carried to a considerable distance, and immense fatigue undergone and danger dared in their performance. Men bred in such habits ought at least to make good soldiers, and to be able to defend their mountain Passes against an invading enemy, could they but be brought to sacrifice their internal and long-cherished feuds to a united and general defence of their country. Their religion is the Soonee Mussulman. Many of the tribes inhabiting this extensive range of country are known under specific denominations, but the appellation of Beloochee is common to them all. Those tribes to the Westward bordering on Persia, from their intercourse with that nation, and being often coerced by it into unwilling dependence, have imbibed a tinge of its character.

GOVERNMENT.—The Khan of Kelaat is the nominal Sovereign of Baloochistan, tributary to Caubul. His subjects are divided into communities called Kheels, each under its respective Chieftain, who owes services and allegiance to the Khan.

The bands of this feudal connection are, however, but lightly drawn, and the vassal is, perhaps, as often found ready to resist as to obey the commands of his Suzerain. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rupees 3,50,000 per annum.

MILITARY STRENGTH.—The Military aggregate strength of the Kheels, on a rough estimate, may amount to 100,000 men; but the feuds existing between the Chiefs, and the inefficiency of Government, are such, that this national Force could never be united or its energies beneficially directed.

DESCRIPTION OF COUNTRY.—Baloochistan, with the exception of Kutch Gundava on the East and the Desert to the Northward and Westward, is a high mountainous tract of country, particularly the Eastern Division of it (formerly known by the name of Zebulistan), in the centre nearly of which is the Capital of the country, Kelaat. This elevated region is separated from Sinde by the Sooleman range of mountains, and from the Desert by the Sarawanee mountains, which running Westward also form a barrier between the Desert and the Provinces of Mekran and Lus, on the South Coast of Baloochistan.

The latter range of mountains between the Kelaat Territory and the Desert, Colonel Pottinger thus describes: "They appear to be intended by nature as an insurmountable barrier, and present the most difficult defiles I have ever seen in any country."

The valleys of the Kelaat country are well cultivated; water is abundant, and large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep are reared on the mountains.

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* This is a Turkish word, and used to designate forays over all Tartary and Persia.—(Note by Sir J. Malcolm.)

Kutch Gundava is a low, rich, and well-watered plain, several branches of the Naree river running through it.

Sooleman Mountains.—The Sooleman range of mountains run nearly North and South, from the great chain of the Hindoo Koosh to the Indian Ocean. Towards the South they form a most admirable natural boundary between Baloochistan and Sinde.

Inaccessible but by their Passes, of which there are several similar in their character to the general description of mountain Passes throughout India, rocky and abrupt precipices, stony valleys, the beds of periodical torrents, and close defiles. Many of them are well described by Mr. Elphinstone, Colonel Pottinger, Sir J. Macdonald, and Mr. Macartney; and if further proof were wanting of the difficulties they present to the passage of an Army, even without an opposing enemy, we have only to refer to Monsieur Bernier's admirably-drawn description of Aurungzebe's Army in the defiles of the Himala leading to Cashmere.

Climate.—Even in the summer months the climate of the elevated regions of Baloochistan is cool, but in the winter months the nights are bitterly cold, with strong North-east winds, hail, and snow.

The Provinces of Lus and Mekran (on the sea coast) are open to the S. W. Monsoon; their climate is considered prejudicial to Europeans.

In the low plains of Kutch Gundava the heats are excessive, and the Sumoom occasionally blows in the hot months with a deadly fury. Hot winds are also prevalent in the Desert.

Products.—The Camels and Dromedaries of Baloochistan are highly valued, as being of a superior description: towards the Desert they are bred in great numbers. The horses of the country are generally hardy, useful, and, in the Western Provinces, often very handsome.

Cattle and sheep are numerous, and in the valleys of the Kelaat Districts grain in abundance is grown, as are fruits and vegetables, both European and Asiatic. The plains of Kutch Gundava produce also madder, cotton, and indigo.

Passage of Troops through Baloochistan.—Should ever the resources of Persia be under the control of the enemies of Great Britain, their object may become an invasion of her possessions in India by advancing from Shiraz or Kerman through Baloochistan into Sinde.

There are no intermediate routes between the Northern one by Kandahar and Caubul and those to the South through Mekran and Lus, the intervening space being the sandy deserts of Seistan and Kerman,* practicable, indeed, for caravans of camels, but across which no large Army could dare to venture. The height of the sand banks to be got over, the deficiency of water, the hot winds, and the absolute sterility of the country, are most formidable difficulties even to individuals.

Seistan.—Seistan, here described as a Desert, appears from tradition to have been once a fertile country. An ancient History of Guzerat relates the passage of it by a Persian Army under Shah Beheram Gore, in the 4th century; it is, however, now a desolate sandy waste, save close on the banks of the Helmind, which river traverses the country, and gives the means by its overflow for some little cultivation, and even fertilizes productively a small tract to the Southward, called the "Gurmsyl."

Southern routes on Sinde.—By one of the Southern routes, *that* apparently along the coast, as it appears that wells for the convenience of the fleet were dug by the Troops as they proceeded, Alexander, after his invasion of India, returned to Babylon. From Patula (Tattah) he is recorded to have proceeded through the country of the Arabitœ (Lus), forded the Arabis (Ponally), and entered Gedrosia (Mekran).

The havoc made among his Troops by thirst and famine is fully recorded by the same historian.

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* For the character of these Deserts, *vide* Fraser's "Khorasan," Pottinger's "Baloochistan," and Elphinstone's "Caubul." To European Infantry, if not to Cavalry, they will, I think, readily be pronounced impracticable.—J. B.

All their former hardships, endured in their expeditions through Asia, were not to be compared to what they suffered on this march. It was on the desert of Mekran that Alexander "satisfied the thirst of his Army" by throwing the water brought him by a soldier in his shield on the ground. Tradition, among the natives of that period, likewise assigned the loss of the Armies of Semiramis and of Cyrus (the son of Cambyses) to the sufferings and hardships endured in traversing the same route.

It nevertheless appears, however, that in A. D. 677, an Army sent by the Caliph of Bagdad against Sinde did traverse this route; by keeping close along the sea coast, they always found water procurable by digging a couple of feet into this sandy beach. That it is perfectly practicable to individuals is undoubted, for during the season of the year that the monsoon prevents boats passing between Mandavee in Cutch and the Persian Gulph, it is constantly traversed by Native "Kasids," conveying letters between that place and Muscat. It was likewise travelled by Captains Grant, of the Bengal Army, and David Seton (formerly Resident in Cutch), who represent its only difficulties to consist in destitution of supplies.

Should an Army of the present day attempt to advance upon Sinde by the above route, its great object would be to have its stores, Artillery, and supplies conveyed by water along the coast, and landed at Sonmeeanee (the Port of Baloochistan, and harbour occupied by the fleet of Nearchus), or perhaps Kurrachee; the progress of the fleet and Army to be regulated by each other, the latter receiving occasional supplies from the former.

Entering Sinde by the road between Sonmeeanee and Kurrachee it appears is attended with no difficulty, as the Sooleman range of mountains breaking off short of the sea coast, there is no mountain Pass to traverse.

From Kurrachee the road on Tattah and Hyderabad would be open, and thus once in possession of the western bank of the Indus, the invaders might attend on time and opportunity to carry their arms into the immediate territory of British India.

The execution of this plan of operations, it is, however, to be hoped, our command of the sea renders not only impossible, but, should the enemy attempt it, conveying his material by land, it would moreover (by means of boats adapted to the coast) enable us to harass the march of his columns.

Detachments of light Troops might be landed in his rear, to cut off his supplies, to annoy his flanks, or, where advantageous ground offered, to dispute even his advance.

To keep close along the shore it seems water would oblige him, and all this sort of attack would be wonderfully facilitated by the number of large nullahs which intersect the road; they are overgrown with jungle, dry in the hot season, but furious torrents in the rains—to the Troops of Alexander they proved formidable obstacles.

From off the coast they have the appearance of so many mouths of rivers, and would lead to the supposition of the inland country being well watered; the reverse, however, cannot be more satisfactorily shown than by the Bundameer River, thirty miles East of Shiraz, being in the dry season the only running stream sufficiently deep to take a horse above his knees, and from Sonmeeanee to Shiraz is 1,600 miles.

The other route from Mekran into Sinde lies to the northward of the above-mentioned one, entering the Kelaat District by Bela, and thence turning south to Sonmeeanee; but it is a sterile mountain tract running through several difficult defiles and deficient in water."

APPENDIX NO. IV.

MAJOR ROBERT LEECH'S BRIEF HISTORY OF KALAT.

It had been my intention to delay writing on this subject until I could procure a written history of the Ahmadzyes, which I have reason to believe is in existence, and until I could obtain a collection of national ballads from the hereditary Brahoee *sha'ars*, or minstrels; but the interest at present felt in everything relating to Balochisthan, arising from the disturbed, and to many no doubt, inexplicable state of affairs in that country, has induced me, perhaps prematurely, to attempt the task, and for being able to perform it I am chiefly indebted to a Persian manuscript drawn up in the summer of 1838 at my request by Myan Sibaghatulla, Sahabzadah of Sarhind, whose family had been settled at Kalat for nearly 50 years.

Mistakes will no doubt be found to exist, as I have had no opportunity of corroborating the original accounts, but I am confident they will all be found, if any, in the early history, and thus only be liable to mislead the curious antiquary, and not the operative politician.

CABOOL,
The 1st June 1841.

P. S.—Myan Sibaghatulla, it must be told, while at Kalat, was a partizan of the Wukeel's family.

THE WORD KULLAT.—The word Kullat, in Arabic, signifies a mountain-top: and the word Kalat, in Persian, is applied to a fort built on a commanding eminence; in this sense there are three Kalats familiar to the Natives of Central Asia, *viz.*, Kalat-i-Nadio to the N. E. of Mushud; Kalat-i-Ghilzye to the E. N. E. of Caudahar; and Kalat-i-Nasseer, the Capital of Baloochisthan. In the Baloehee language, which is eorrupted Persian, Kalat is applied to a fort in general, and here it is used *par excellence* as "the fort."

KALAT-I-SEWA.—This fort was formerly known as Kalat-i-Sewa from a former Hindoo ruler, by name Sewamal: and his being known by this name militates against the supposition entertained by Pottinger of Sewa being an hereditary title in the family, which is reputed to have been of Rajpoot extraetion, and Sewa's title was, therefore, no doubt the military one of Singh, and not the mereantile one of Mal.

KALAT-I-BALOCH.—The Afghans know the place merely as Kalat-i-Baloch, and in the royal letters patent and mandates of the Duranee Kings, the small place of Neecharah is entered with it as "Kalat-wa-Neecharah," in compliment to the tribe of Neecharahs, who include themselves in the Alakozyes, and boast that their village of Neeeharah contains the tomb of their progenitor, Alako.

Kalat-wa-Neecharah.

KALAT-I-NASSEER.—On the aecession, or after the time, of Meer Nasseer *Khan*, Mehrab *Khan's* grandfather, the fort beeame known as Kalat-i-Nasseer, which appellation it at presenl retains.

HINDOO ANTIQUITIES.—The place of the greatest antiquity in Baloochisthan is the island opposite Port Pasanee, called erroueously Sungadeep, but eorreetly Ashtalla, and also correctly Carmine by Nearchus, if we regard the word as a corruption of Carline or Kalyayan, from Kalee, the goddess of fate and Ayan abode.

SATA-DWEEP.—It is at present known as Sata-dweep, or the Island of Sata (Astula or Kalee): according to existing tradition it was once inhabited, but the inhabitants were expelled

by the presiding goddess in her wrath at an incest that was committed there. Pilgrims say they are now only allowed to remain on the island one night.

HINGULAJ.—Another place of Hindoo antiquity is Hingulaj (from Hingula, a name for the goddess Kalee, and j, an affix importing position). There are two places which pilgrims visit; one in a defile of the Hingulaj mountain, through which the river Agher runs, where there is a pool of water and a natural cave containing a natural pillar, between which and the sides of the cave sinners find a difficulty to pass, while saints experience none; and outside this cave there is a natural platform in the rock, where goats are sacrificed to the presiding goddess, Hingula.

Another is an ebullient (not hot) well, in which offerings are thrown, which, when emitted by a successive ebullition, form ingredients of thick cakes baked on the spot by the pilgrims, who keep fragments as relics. The pilgrims wear as a distinguishing mark of the order of Hingulaj a large string of small clay beads, which are to be purchased at Thattah.

OTHER PILGRIMAGES.—Besides these two shrines, the following verse serves as a guide to Hindoo pilgrims in Balochisthan :—

"At Kalat you may see Kalee,
And at Mustung Mahadave;
At Shal is the old jogee;
Panee-nath's grave."

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.—No tradition is preserved of the march of Alexander the Great through Balochisthan, with the exception, perhaps, of a mountain Pass near Sarhad, called Lak-i-Lukman; Lukman being a fabulous philosopher whom Alexander released from a well in *Baghdad*, where he had been for 40 years confined by enchantment.

At the same time I believe that Alexander the Great is not connected in the minds of the inhabitants with the legend, but that, regarding the work of cutting a pass through a mountain as one requiring great science, and knowing it to be a work of antiquity, they have given the credit of it to one of the only two scientific men of old known to them, *viz.*, Lukman, the other being Plato.

The inhabitants of the coast of Mekran also know by tradition that an Army was formerly reduced to great straits in taking the coast route from want of water and provisions.

BAMPOOR.—Bampoor (originally, I have no doubt, Bramhpoor) must always have been, if not the Capital of Western Balochisthan, at least one of the chief towns from its fine natural supply of water.

MEKRAN.—In forming conjectures on the derivation of the word Mekran, it struck me as singular that the word in Hindoo looked like the word Kirman, the letters changing places as in the words chik-al and kick-al, mud.

I have heard of a rather ingenious derivation proposed in *Mahee Khoran* (fish-eaters) or Michran. The Scindians are at the present day called in derision fish-eaters. Nearchus says, that the Icthyophagi believed themselves to be descended from a race who had been once transformed into fish or sea monsters. If this tradition was then in existence, and the inhabitants believed it, their country might have been known as Mekrine (Maharayan, the abode of sea monsters); there is something of this tradition still preserved. The Island of Sata-dweep is said to have been depopulated by the presiding goddess on account of the commission of incest there.

KECH.—Kech may have been the same with Bramhpoor, if we regard it as reducible from Kanj, a name of Bramha; or it may be drawn from Kesh, a name of Vishnoo, when no doubt the town was called Keshapoor.

SAIFUL MALOOK.—Of great antiquity also are the caves near Belav, called after Saiful Malook, and more than one account has been given of them.

GABERS.—The whole country of Balochisthan abounds with the remains of what the natives at the present time believe to have been the works of the Gabers, or fire-worshippers; indeed, the remains of any kind of solid masonry suggest to them, the Gabers, as the founders. The following are some of the sites of such remains, *viz.*—in the defile of Jurgee, between Neecharah and Kapoto, at a place called Gat, near Zahree at Zeedee; at Dashtee Goran, near Kalat; at Keel, in the Mora Pass; at Kuchakanee, in the Takaree Pass; near Bapow, in the Moora Pass; at Mishk, between Zahree and the Moora Pass.

KALAT ANTIQUITIES.—The chief antiquity of Kalat itself is a Hindoo temple dedicated to the Devee, or goddess Kalee or Durga, the consort of Shiwa, which is believed to have been in existence even long before the time of Seva. Again, some say that the latter was ordered in a dream by Kalee to people the neighbourhood of the temple. Mehrab *Khan* had a respect for the Fakeer of the temple, so much so that when he died, the *Khan* gave him a piece of gold cloth for a shroud.

Another antiquity, but of more recent date, is the grave of a Fakeer near the Kalát spring, who is said to have considerably enlarged it from what the original inhabitants or Dehwárs made use of. The Fakeer is respected both by Mahomedans and Hindoos.

"While living, Oorfee! so behave thee,
That when thy life-time doth expire,
Mahomedans with "Zamzam" lave thee,
And Hindoos burn thee on a pyre."—*From the Persian.*

In Sewá's time the summit of Kalát only was fortified, and that even very partially, which is now called the Meeree (or citadel), an expression peculiar to Balochisthan, as in other parts of Khorasan it is called Arg (Meeree meaning literally "place of the Meer").

There are no vestiges of Sewa, except in a part of the present building between the rooms occupied by Mehrab *Khan's* mother and by his son; there is a small room known as "Khudee-i-Sewa," or Sewa's cabin; and whenever the slave-girls get ill there, they attribute it to being possessed of one of Sewa's devils.

BRAHOEE.—The term Brahoee I consider must have been given this people by the original inhabitants of the country on their first entering it. I believe the word to be a corruption of Ibrahimee, Brahimee, or Brahiwee, as a race either invariably takes its name from its progenitor or its original country. I have never heard it used in contradistinction to Naroee. Pottinger believes the word to have the same meaning as that of Rohilla.

RAMBAR.—The only antiquity of these people I ever heard of is a boundary stone near Mashkai, called "Sang-i-Kumbar," where the Rambaranee patriarch no doubt fixed his boundary, with the aborigines, on his first settlement.

TOMBS.—The latest reminiscence of the past is to be found in four grave-yards under a hill to the East of Kalat: the western contains 15 or 16 graves of Ahmadzyes; the eastern, whose dome cannot, they say, be covered, is that of *Sakhee* Meer Samandar (the Sambar of Pottinger).

Between the two is a yard containing the tombs of Meer Nasseer and Meer Mahmood *Khan*, and between this yard and the dome of Meer Samandar is the burial-ground of Meer Shahnawaz *Khan's* family.

DEHWARS.—The oldest inhabitants of Kalat are said to be the Dehwars, or land proprietors. I do not look upon them as a distinct race, but as descendants of the different lords of Kalat, who have, after being conquered, sunk down into tillers of land. The present race, like the other Tajuks of Khorassan, speak Persian, corrupted with the local neighbouring dialects.

The Dehwars of Kalat corrupt their Persian with Hindostanee, Pushtoo, and Braho-iky. The following is a specimen :—

Jargon.

Warnáreesá, hamàneemá raftam-hamanjá yak kad e bood, aspia khuree kardam, azanjá puthareed, páash ba kad-i-moosh darámad, ragh ash taleed, mantharak zadam, sheoshudam, náf-i-man taleed wa dil-i-man budeed.

Old fellow, this moment I went over there, there was a hollow there. I spurred the horse, he jumped over it, his foot got into a mouse-hole, he sprained his nerve, I made a spring and came down. I sprained my navel, and my heart got sick.

These Dehwars are divided into five takars or clans.

I do not conceive that Sewa had any government, but rather that Kalat was first built by him, and considered his estate.

Georgians.—Tradition says that Kalat passed into the hands of Persia from those of Sewá, and that the Governor of the place was of Georgian extraction, who had a deputy at *Khuzdar*, and ruled over the clans, who were divided under separate Maliks and Arbabs.

This Governor, after some time, losing control over his passions, commenced a system of gross tyrannical debauchery, carrying off by force the daughters of the peasantry; and this was carried to such an extent, that the whole population was roused, and the heads of clans determined to administer the remedy with their own hands.

The Deputy was much worse than his principal, as he not only required their daughters, but an entertainment of halwa (a *blanc mange)*, which he had brought to him on a hill which is now called Koh-i-halwah, where the Governors of *Khuzdar* now go to hunt.

The Governor had for some time been in the habit of requiring *gratis* and daily the services of 25 Dehwars to build the defences of Kalat: such was his fear of their revenge, that, before admitting them on the works, he had their persons searched to prevent their bringing in weapons concealed about them.

They were in the habit of baking bread of millet in large balls, with a heated stone in the centre, to provide for a thorough baking called by the Affghans *kak*, and it occurred to them that this might be the means of their release and the weapon of their vengeance.

Revolution.—Next day they passed the guards without any suspicion being attached to their bread, and, finding the tyrant in a mid-day sleep, dispatched him; the town was immediately surprised from without, and the Dehwars became masters of Kalat. On the news reaching Khuzdar, a similar rise took place there, which terminated as successfully.

Brahoee History.—The descendants of these patriots are now known among the Dehwars as "*dodee mast,*" or "bread heroes."

Before entering on the history of the Brahoees, I must preface the subject by remarking that the history of these people is in the hands of the Lohree minstrels, but that I heard from Mehrab Khan himself that he could trace his descent for twenty-three generations, and that his progenitors emigrated from Halab (Aleppo).

He also declared himself descended from Ameer Humza, uncle of the Arabian prophet, and a Hushamite Koreish.

Though not in possession of Mehrab Khan's pedigree, I procured in the early part of 1839, when in Cutchee, that of Baloch Khan Dombkee of Lahree, who traces it to the same source as the Khan of Kalat does. It is as follows: Baloch Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, son of Jalal Khan, son of Shahdad Khan, son of Jalal Khan, son of Meeroo Khan, son of Boot Khan, son of Baloch Khan, son of Meeroo Khan, son of Baloch Khan, son of Mahomed Khan, son of Meeroo Khan, son of Mahommed Khan, son of Husen Khan, son of Isak Khan, son of Ahmad Khan, son of Gulo Khan, son of Pervez Khan, son of Kahloo Khan, son of Madil Khan, son of Noot Khan, son of Bazan Khan, son of Ayalee Khan, son of Zan Khan, son of Matan Khan, son of Sairan Khan, son of Rind Khan, son of Jalal Khan, son of Hareen

Khan, son of Gul Kharaj, son of Jarkh Taj, son of Baloch Khan, son of Satookee, son of Ilm-i-Mardame, son of Badee Uzzuman, son of Ameer Humza, son of Abdu Mutalib, son of Ubdu Manaf, son of Abdul Hasham.

Isak Khan had two sons, Saheek and Husen Khan. Chakar Khan is the son of Saheek; he is the progenitor of the Chakaranees of Hindostan.

The former, Jalal Khan, had six sons, Rind, Latree, Hot, Ruraiee, and Jahtoee.

Representative.—The Dehwars, on taking possession of Kalat, held a council among themselves, and elected a representative, by name Rais Taj Mahommed, the 8th progenitor of the present Rais Khan Mahommed, and determined on putting him at the head of a deputation, to wait on the Rambaranee Chiefs, who then resided at Mashkai, and invite one of them to rule over them at Kalat. The reason for making this choice was no doubt that they required a man of prowess, and where could they find one better to suit their purpose than among the Brahoees, who had lately colonized, and who had gained every inch of the ground they possessed by the sword, and whose deeds under their Chief, Rambar, were probably then fresh in the minds of the Dehwars?

Deputation.

Kambar.—This Imaum Rambar, it is said, had eight sons: descended the Kambaranees.

Kambar	from	whom	
Ismail,	ditto	ditto	Ismailanees.
Gurgeen	,,	,,	Gurginadees.
Meroo	,,	,,	Meerwanees.
Roden	,,	,,	Rodeenees.
Eltaz	,,	,,	Eltazais.
Ahmad	,,	,,	Ahmadzais.

The Dehwar deputation waited on these brothers at Mashkai, and a consultation was held on the subject of the proposition, when the elder brothers agreed that they would spare Ahmad, the youngest, on account of his not having, like them, lands, flocks, and families to bind him to his paternal soil, and as being the most likely not to usurp undue authority.

Ahmad.—Ahmad, with a few of his own Brahoee followers, proceeded with the Dehwars back to Kalat, and held his first court under a mulberry tree outside the fort to the east, which was situated on *matee* land (*matee* meaning river deposit); and under this tree for several subsequent generations the Ahmadzais held their Court when they had to discuss matters of unusual weight affecting the general welfare.

Stipulations.—Before accepting, however, the Khanee of Kalat, Ahmad made the following stipulations with the Dehwars:—

1*st.*—He required one of the six canals to be given to him for his support; this canal is called Joe-i-Toot, or Joe Ghulaman.

2*nd.*—He required grass, stalls, and pigs for his horses; wood for his kitchen; chobdars or macebearers for his court; couriers and runners to procure intelligence; guards on the gates; camel-men for marching.

3*rd.*—He required the fort to be repaired when necessary, and the snow to be swept off the houses and works in the winter.

4*th.*—He required to be relieved from entertaining public guests, such as envoys and couriers from Candahar and elsewhere.

Like the Israelites of old, when once determined to have a king, none of the disadvantages urged by the prophet Samuel could deter them—so it seemed with the Dehwars, for they agreed to all these conditions, and continued faithfully to perform these services, with now and then some mitigation; for instance, as Kalat became peopled with foreigners, they were made to repair part of the works, and during the time of Meer Nasseer Khan, in consideration of the great influx of guests, he allowed the Dehwars 2,000 Kareembhanee Rupees

a year; besides granting them some bunds or dams in Kuchee: these were, however, escheated by his successor, Meer Mahmood Khan.

Tax.—Ahmad also made his brothers agree to give him from every flock one sheep, one rope, and one felt rug. This their descendants continued to do until the time of Meer Nasseer Khan, who remitted the tax.

Geneology.—Meer Meerab Khan is, I believe, the 7th in descent from Meer Ahmed, the progenitor of the Ahmedzais, and among these seven are Meer Mehrab Khan-i-Kalan, Meer Kale Khan, and Meer Samander.

Intimacy.—Among the eight brothers the Ahmedzais, Eltazais, and Kambaranees amalgated together, and shared each other's joys and sorrows; that is, they intermarry and pay visits of condolence to each other on the death of a relation, and share in the payment of blood-money.

Of the intermediate Khans between Meer Ahmed and Meer Abdullah, Mehrab Khan's great-grandfather, I am in possession of little information more than the following:—Meer Samander obtained the surname *Sakhee*, or the generous, from his great liberality and hospitality.

Meer Kale Khan.—It was first under Meer Kale Khan that the Brahoees rose into importance, and formed anything deserving to be called a separate independent State. He expelled the tribe of Soomrees or Nomryas from Tuhrab, Baghlana, and Khuzdar, whence they took refuge in Lus, and gave the country to the Brahoees. He also made inroads to the north and north-west, and took tracts of country from the former inhabitants, whom I believe to have been Huzarahs. This latter tribe, it is true, is now only to be found far north of Balochisthan; but there is evidence of their being once settled as far south as the district of Shawl, and this evidence is furnished by the Takatoo mountain, the word Takatoo being composed of *Taka*, a wild goat, and *too*, answering in the Huzarah dialect to the Persian *dar*, and Hindoo *wala*, and English *er*, as falcon, falconer; and *kutchlak*, caves.

Nomryas.

Huzarahs.

I believe the Brahoees to have gained northern Balochisthan from the Huzarahs, and the southern part from the Nomryas, Jokyas, and Jaths. This latter tribe once held part of Mekran; and I have more than once been inclined to suppose that the name had some connection with the country Gedrosia. There is, besides, a small stream near Cutchee, known by the name of Jathro at the present day, and a tribe called Jattakees, from their inhabiting the Jattak hills in the Brahooick range.

Jaths.

It was under Meer Kale Khan, I should think, and not under Meer Ahmed, that the Brahoees were spread over the conquered country in the following order:—the Eltazais were given Baghbana; the Meerwanees retained Mashkai and Kolwah; the Rodeenees and Gurginadees were settled in the south, and the Ismailanees in the north; while the Kambaranees were spread over the country from Kech to Mustung, as their great numbers created apprehensions of a revolution.

Colonies.

Alliances.—As the power of Kale Khan increased, the Badechees of Shorowak and the Pances of Siwee courted his alliance, and it was during this ruler's Government that Akhund Mullah Mahommad arrived at Kalat, having fled from Sheraz. He was a man of great talent, and his prepossessing manners and his foreign extraction, which rendered him free from localities and interests, induced the Brahoees and their Khan to offer him the office of Wuzeer with the title of Wukeel, as Wuzeer was only applicable to the Prime Minister of a King. The descendants of this Mullah Mahommad say that he was by descent a Sayad, but dropt the title on gaining temporary power.

Wukeel.

Divisions.—It was this man that first divided the Brahoees and their country into the two Divisions of Sarawan and Jhalawan.

Sarawan means "upper country," and is derived from the words *sar* and *abadnee*, thus; Sarabadanee, Sarabanee, Saraban (as Beaban); Sarawan and Jhalawan signifies "low country," from the words *jhala* and *abadanee*.

Sarawan is applied to the country north of Kalat, and Jhalawan to that to the south, while Lus means the "flat country."

At present, in time of war, the Brahoees assemble under three standards, *viz.*, under the 1*st*, the Khan of Kalat and his own retainers, under the 2*nd*, the troops of Sarawan under their immediate leaders, and under the 3*rd*, the Troops of Jhalawan.

MEER ABDULLA.— Nothing of importance is really preserved as having taken place between the time of Meer Kale Khan and Meer Abdulla Khan, who was a bold, proud, and enterprising man, and was constantly employed making forays; sometimes in the territories of Shah Mahmood, Ghiljee, of Candahar, as is shown by the tomb of Sirdar Khan's father being at Lylee Majnoon; sometimes in Sinde; and sometimes towards Derajat. The reason of his invading the latter country arose from the following accident:—A Brahoee shepherd, grazing his flocks in the country dependent on Dera, one day allowed his sheep to stray into some cultivation, for which trespass the former killed one of the sheep and severely beat the shepherd. He came to Kalat to complain to Meer Abdulla, who some time afterwards expressed to his nobles his determination of invading Dera. In vain did they try to dissuade him, urging the insignificance of the cause of the quarrel and the expense of the trip; nothing could dissuade him, and he declared thus in reply: "That one Brahoee sheep nightly leaps in the bowels of Abdulla Khan and allows him no rest."

Dera.

Foray.

The foray was made and proved successful; several of the Dera villages were burnt to ashes, and Abdulla Khan's troops returned to Kalat, laden with plunder and encumbered with captives.

Some time after this a quarrel broke out between Abdulla Khan and the Kalora Chiefs of Sinde on the subject of the district of Cutchee, to which the Brahoee herdsmen yearly emigrated with their flocks for the winter. During the quarrel Abdulla Khan made several successful forays in the territory of the Kaloras; to resent one of which, Meer Johrab collected a Force, and moved out against the Brahoee Chief. The parties met and had a severe engagement, in which the Brahoees were defeated, Abdulla Khan was killed, and his corpse was never discovered. With him fell on the Brahoee side, besides 300 men of no note, Meer Zirk, Zahree, the Chief of Jhalawan, and the father of Mulla Mahommed, Raisanee. Abdulla Khan before his death inflicted a severe wound on the forehead of Meer Johrab, and ever after, when the subject of a quarrel with the Brahoees was started in Durbar, Meer Johrab would exclaim—"Ah! Baloches, the blood from the wound Abdulla Khan inflicted still trickles down the forehead of Johrab."

Kaloras.

Death.

Johrab.

KECH.—It is also said that Meer Abdulla Khan made several forays in the district of Kech, but failed to take the fort of that name.

SONS.—Meer Abdulla Khan left three sons; Meer Muhabbut Khan, Meer Mahomed Nasseer Khan, and Meer Eltaz Khan: the elder of these succeeded his father.

MEER MUHABBUT.—Meer Muhabbut Khan's first thought was to revenge the death of his father on the Scindians, and this thirst would never, perhaps, have been allayed had not fortune about this time brought the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, to Candahar. Meer Muhabbut Khan, after a consultation with his nobles, determined to repair to the royal camp, which he joined at Lahore in its progress to Hindostan, and stated that the object of his ambition and visit was to get revenge for the

Nadir Shah.

death of his father. Nadir Shah's answer was—"The blood of Abdulla Khan stains the forehead of Nadir, and please God I will seek it at the hands of those fish-eating Seindians."

Meer Muhabbut Khan accompanied the conqueror on his invasion of Hindostan. When Nadir on his return arrived at the Indus, the Khan reminded him of his promise; Nadir immediately ordered the route to be changed in the direction of Scinde, on his arrival on the boundary of which a Mijan Noor Mahommed, the Chief, fled to Umarkote, and the inhabitants in dread left their villages and fled to the hill. On Nadir's arrival at Hyderabad he lost no time, but, by making several forced marches (fable says one), succeeded in surprising the Scindian Chief in Umarkote, who immediately surrendered, and on being asked by Nadir Shah whether it was true he had a well full of gold, replied—"Please your Majesty, I have seven, and have brought the keys of the whole." This answer pleased Nadir, who did not fine him, but brought him with the royal camp back to Cutchee, when he ordered him to be taken to the tents of Meer Muhabbut Khan, to be treated as the latter willed. The Brahoees, after some consultation, decided that Nadir Shah would be offended if the Scindian should be put to death; they therefore contented themselves with requiring, as the price of blood, the countries of Cutchee, Curachee, and the Roors, and a lakh of Rupees in ready money. An agreement to this effect having been concluded in the presence of Nadir Shah, Noor Mahommed was allowed to return to his Capital. On Nadir Shah's arrival at Ganjabha, the Scindian Governor, Murad Ganjah, entertained him for a week, and then was killed by his orders, at the secret request of the Sindh Chief, who distrusted him. Nadir then set out for Candahar *viâ* Sannee and Sohian, and the Bolan Pass. Meer Muhabbut distributed some of the lands thus acquired to the families of those Chiefs who had fallen with his father; for instance, he gave Gajan to the son of Meer Zirk, and Meer Rasheed Khan enjoys it at the present day, and Rahnakha to the Raisanees.

Mijan Noor Mahommed.

Umarkote.

Cutchee.

Murad-i-Ganjah.

MEER NASSEER KHAN.—Meer Muhabbut Khan's younger brother, Meer Mahommed Nasseer Khan, was, with *Agha* Aly Badazye and a few slaves, in constant attendance on Nadir Shah, and afterwards on his successor, Ahmed Shah. He was looked upon as a hostage, and it is said that during one of the campaigns he and his followers were at one time so destitute, that they extracted the half-digested grains out of horses' litter to make bread of. Meer Muhabbut, jealous of his younger brother, did not furnish him with funds adequate to his support. During the time of Meer Muhabbut Khan, Akhund Mulla Shahdad was Wukeel, and his son, Akhund Mulla Mahommed Haryat, was appointed to reside at the Court of Ahmed Shah.

Mulla Shahdad.

One sultry day, when Meer Muhabbut Khan and Akhund Mulla Shahdad were out hunting together, the former asked the latter to give him a drink of water. Mulla Shahdad complied, but with a bad grace, as he regarded the request derogatory to him, and, fearing lest the Khan, if not remonstrated with, would demand other menial services from him, wrote a letter to his son at Candahar, saying, I always thought you were *haizat* (alive), but unless you can get Muhabbut Khan's affairs disarranged for me, I shall think you dead. Akhund Mulla Mahommed Haizat, on receiving this letter from his father, made use of the influence his patron the Wuzeer, Shah Walee Khan, had over Ahmed Shah, in getting Meer Muhabbut Khan summoned to court. His coming to court, however, is accounted for in the history of Ahmed as follows:—When that monarch was on his return from Amanabad, in Guzerat, to Candahar, in the 3rd year of his reign, A. H. 1162, Muhabbut Khan Baloch came in and paid his respects, and was made Chief of the whole of Balochisthan; soon after he began to commit acts of cruelty and tyranny, among which the murder of Gilan-i-Kasee, in Shawl, was the

Insult out hunting.

Mulla Haizat.

most glaring. This determined the king to fit out an expedition against him: the royal Force was opposed at Mustung by a Baloch Force under Raim Khan, Shaheranee, and Mulla Haizat, and gained a victory, making both the above prisoners. On this news reaching Muhabbut Khan at Kalat, he repaired to the royal camp, surrendered himself, and then, with the whole of his family, accompanied the king back to Candahar.

When he, Mulla Haizat, had effected this, he still openly paid most abject court to Muhabbut Khan as his lawful Chief; but secretly intrigued with the Beahnee Chiefs in the Khan's train, and by the aid of presents put at his disposal by his patron, the Wuzeer succeeded in estranging the Brahoees from Muhabbut and transferring their allegiance to Nasseer Khan. For some time these intrigues were carried on secretly; at last the Wukeel, throwing off the mask, got the younger brother declared Khan of Kalat and himself Wukeel; and had Muhabbut Khan and a few of his confidential attendants put under surveillance, in which he died.

Supercession.

Meer Eltaz.—Meer Eltaz Khan went mad, and his frantic tricks often justly caused alarm. One day at Ganjabah Meer Eltaz appeared before Nasseer Khan, when alone, with a drawn sword. The latter was a little lame from the effects of a wound received in Persia, and generally had a long straight sword with him, on which he leant. In trying to ward off his brother's attack, he accidentally gave him a thrust, which proved his death-wound. Meer Nasseer Khan was greatly shocked at this calamity, and afterwards his mind took a serious turn, and he fitted out an expedition to Mecca to make atonement for his crime.

Meer Nasseer Khan.—When Meer Mahomed Nasseer Khan obtained the Khanship of Kalat, he was twenty-four years of age, and he ruled, it is said, fifty years. Mulla Mahommed Haizat, as may be supposed, became all-powerful, so much so, that Bibee Miriam, the Khan's mother, is said to have taken her son to him, and solemnly to have confided the lad to his care, saying, he was the controller of her own and her son's fate, as the latter owed his advancement entirely to him.

Meer Nasseer Khan's first care on gaining power was to reward the companions of his confinement. He conferred the Government of Bhag on Agha Aly, Badozye. The office of Darogah of Kalat he gave to Mullah Fuzul Mahommed, Khanahzad, the Sundookdaree to Mulla Peer Mahommed. To Mulla Yaya he gave the office of Phahgasee, and made Mulla Peer Mahommed, Kalaghzye, Duzbegeer and Darogah of Mustung, and Mulla Gudud his Nazir.

Mulla Haizat fixed upon the Chiefs to be employed and took care that they were of sober and modest habit, not likely to mislead the young Khan.

The first time that Nasseer Khan is mentioned in the history of Ahmed Shah is in the following passage:—

Ahmed Shah.—In A. H. 1171, being the 12th year of his reign, on the 11th Rujab, the king having received intelligence of Ghazee-ud-deen Khan of Alumgeer and of Shahzada Timoor, ordered an army to assemble under Meer Nasseer Khan, the Baloch Chief, and to march on Cabool. On the 12th Shaban the king started, and, after being detained fifteen days on the road from sickness, arrived at Cabool on the 17th Ramzan.

Nasseer Khan, after assembling his troops, looking on the hurry of the king as arguing his fear of some powerful demonstration on the part of the Marathas, threw off his allegiance, and fortified himself in Shawl, and commenced foraying the neighbouring Badeechees, Tareens, and other Afghans. Some time after, in a skirmish with the Kakurs, Rustom Khan Baloch with several followers were killed. On this account the whole of Balochisthan joined Meer Nasseer Khan, except Meer Jahanee and Jangal Khan, who were, in consequence, obliged to make good their retreat to Iskalkot, a place distant one Fursakh from Kalat. Nasseer Khan's Force, gradually increasing, reached at last the alarming amount of one lakh.

Rebellion.

On hearing this the king determined on proceeding to Balochisthan in person. After seeing Shahzada Timoor, he left Cabool on the 23rd Zilkad, and, passing Candahar, encamped on Thursday, 9th Mohurrum, on a rising ground, half a Fursakh to the north of Kalat, and commenced the investment: next day Shah Wullee Khan was appointed to take up the investment on the west side, Barkhurdar Khan on the north, Shah Pasand Khan on the south, and Khan-i-Khanum on the east. Batteries were erected, and hostilities commenced. Many men were daily killed and wounded on either side, and Barkhurdar Khan was wounded by a matchlock bullet. At last, on Tuesday, the 4th of Mohurrum, at noon, after a desperate and well-sustained engagement, the Baloches gave in, and Nasseer Khan sent his mother and Mulla Haizat to sue for pardon, and soon after followed them himself. The king conferred on him a dress of honor (at that time coarse satin, called *mushroo)* and the Chiefship of the whole of Balochisthan.

Siege of Kalat.

OTHER VERSION.—The cause, course, and issue of this campaign is, however, differently told by the Brahoees in the following manner:—Shah Wullee Khan, the all-powerful Wuzeer of Ahmed Shah, either finding his influence declining, or taking offence at some act of the king's, instigated his partisan, Nasseer Khan, to rebel, and then persuaded the king to advance in person on Kalat, which place was unsuccessfully beseiged for some time. At last the king authorized the Wuzeer to enter into terms. The latter of course had no difficulty in inducing Nasseer Khan to come out and surrender, which, it is said, he did, accompanied by a few followers, dressed, in the rude manner of his country, with raw hide shoes, camel hair coats, and leathern bags on their backs, containing a few handfuls of parched wheat, and, pointing them out to the king, asked "what can your Majesty want of men whose clothing and food are such as you see?"

Siege.

Surrender.

BIBEE JAN.—Ahmed Shah took Bibee Jan, the sister of Bahram Khan, for a wife for his son, Timoor Shah, and her brother accompanied her with the king back to Cabool.

TREATY.—A Treaty was concluded between Ahmed Shah and Meer Nasseer Khan on the part of themselves and successors to the following effect:—

1*st.*—The Brahoee Chiefs are not to interfere in the internal feud of the Sadozyes, and are to be subservient to the reigning king.

2*nd.*—Should an Ahmedzye Brahoee take refuge in the Dooranee country, the Sadozyes are not to support him against the Ahmedzye Chief of Kalat; they are either to give him up to the latter, or employ him about their persons.

3*rd.*—The Sadozyes are not to pursue any of their tribe who take refuge in the Brahoee territory.

The Chiefs of the Doorances and Brahoees exchanged a similar agreement, with the exception of Barkhurdar Khan, Achakzye, who bore the Brahoees an ill-feeling, having, in the Persian compaign, been accidentally wounded by one of them.

OBSERVANCE.—This 3rd Article was insisted on being rigidly observed, as in the case of Shahzadah Humayoon, who took refuge from Shah Zaman in 1793; and in the case of Shah Shuja, who fled before the Sirdars after his last attempt to regain his throne, and took refuge with Mehrab Khan in 1834.

Nasseer Khan continued to furnish his quota of troops in the Sadozye campaigns; and it was latterly employed in garrisoning Cashmere. There are at the present day Baloch works in Cashmere, Peshawur, and Cabool. He received 500 dresses of honor from the royal *Toshakhana,* headed the van of the Army, and was entitled to beat drums three times a day, and wear two jigahs, or jewelled plumes, a privilege never granted to the Scindians.

Service.

Distinction.

Meer Nasseer Khan distinguished himself in one of the king's Persian campaigns. The Chief opposed to the Dooranees had a private understanding with the Wuzeer, Shah Wullee Khan, and the latter, on Nasseer Khan joining the royal camp, warned him not to volunteer for any attack on the enemy. Ahmed Shah, in public Durbar, on several occasions, called for volunteers: no one came forward; at last Nasseer Khan, unable longer to counterfeit the craven, volunteered, with 1,000 Jhalawan foot and 1,000 Sarawan horse, for the attack. During the time it lasted a false report was brought to Ahmed Shah of the Khan's defeat! The former sent the news to his mother, Bibee Miriam, who was in the royal camp. This heroic woman made the following reply: "If you say he is dead, I will believe it. Meer Abdulla never approached me without ablution; and I have never given suck to Nasseer Khan without the same; and I have never slept with my back to him; how then can he be defeated and alive?" A second courier soon arrived, and contradicted the false report; the attack had been successful. Ahmed Shah, pleased with the high feeling displayed by Bibee Miriam, conferred on her and her son the district of Shawl, making a pun on the word. Nasseer Khan out of this district gave the water of Hanna to his patron, Shah Wullee Khan, Bamezye, and it is held to the present day by his descendants.

Exploit.

Shawl.

Nasseer Khan again distinguished himself in Hindostan, at Muttra, where he was wounded. On his return Ahmed Shah conferred on him the districts of Harrand and Dajal (properly Daoojal). After this Nasseer Khan did not campaign in person; he never paid his respects at the court of Timoor Shah, but sent Sultan Mahommed Murad, the hereditary Sultan, to represent him there.

Harrand, Dajal.

Nasseer Khan made several fruitless attempts to take Kech. He at length made a grand effort, and ordered the whole of his Force to assemble in the spring at Khozdar.

Expedition to Kech.—When assembled, it is said by Mirza Deen Mahomed to have amounted to 30,000 horse and foot. The siege of Kech was commenced on its arrival there, but it was beginning to be rather a prolonged one, when Nasseer Khan, annoyed at the delay, ordered ladders to be prepared, and the place to be assaulted by escalade at all risks. The attack proved successful. The Zikarees, who defended the place, were either killed or taken prisoners, and the grave of their patron saints defiled. The bones having been extracted were burnt with horse litter. The Brahoee loss amounted to 700. Nasseer Khan held the Meerce by means of his own dependants, but gave the town and district to the Lichkees.

Imam of Maskat.—During the time of Nasseer Khan the Imam of Maskat took refuge at Kalat on account of some convulsion in his own State; and received in grant for his support half the revenue of the ports of Gwadar and Chobar.

Allegiance.—So strict in his allegiance to Ahmed Shah was Nasseer Khan, that he never failed in sending the usual yearly presents, consisting of horses, camels, and slaves, not only to the king, but to his courtiers. He has, moreover, been heard to say, that should none be left of the Sadozye dynasty but a girl, and that girl a blind one, the Ahmedzyes ought to acknowledge her.

Taste.—Nasseer Khan had a great taste for learning, and invited learned men from all parts to his court. He conferred on them salaries and grants of land, and distributed them throughout his dominions to instruct his ignorant subjects; and never were subjects more in need of religious instruction: it may fairly be said that they were only made thorough Mussulmans of in Nasseer Khan's time. An anecdote is related of a Brahoee, who, when asked of what persuasion he was, replied, "The persuasion of the great Khan." On the Khan's return from his Hindostan campaigns he made up his mind to introduce shaving of the head among his countrymen, that they might in no way resemble the Sikhs. It was with the greatest difficulty that he got even the

Anecdote.

people immediately about his court to allow of the innovation, although he set the example by shaving the heads of his own sons. The Brahoees, however, of the present day show they have in some way profited by their Khan's admonitions, seeing they differ from the Baloches and never indulge in intoxicating drugs.

CHARITY.—Meer Nasseer Khan distributed large sums in charity, besides Rupees 2,000 or 3,000 every Friday in alms. He yearly sent to Mecca presents to the amount of Rupees 30,000, and fed pilgrims *gratis* from one end of his dominions to the other.

RESPECT.—In such veneration was Nasseer Khan held, and so proud was the Brahoee nation of him, that an anecdote is told, and the truth of it credited universally. That a Brahoee, on his return home from an interview with Nasseer Khan, would not for several days after open his lips to a soul, not even to the members of his own family. On his being pressed by his half-frightened friends to disclose the reason of his extraordinary silence, he sharply observed, "how can I speak to such dirt as you with the same mouth that has been opened to address the great Khan?"

REVERENCE.—The Brahoees looked upon the descendants of Nasseer Khan as their spiritual as well as temporal Chief, until the charm was partly broken by Mehrab Khan by the number of cruel executions ordered by him: but even in his time the wild Brahoees from the hills were in the habit of kissing the threshold of the citadel gate.

ANECDOTE.—An anecdote is also told, that Nasseer Khan during the early part of his Government kept a tame tiger, which he used constantly to visit for the following reason, which he assigned in reply to a questioner: "Whenever I feel rebellious, I look at its eyes, and they remind me of Nadir Shah's, and I am immediately quieted and made loyal again." He also never lost his boyish dread of Mulla Haizat's admonitions. The son of the latter, Mulla Futteh Mahommed, after his father's death was Wukeel during twenty-four years of Nasseer Khan's reign.

When Nasseer Khan was getting old, fancying his end approaching, he reflected that his sons were mere children, and foresaw that the Scindians, on his death, would wrench from them the port of Karachee and the Koorg; he therefore determined, contrary to the advice of many of his self-sufficient courtiers, voluntarily to cede the above places in favor of their former owners, which he accordingly did by Treaty, after several missions and deputations had been interchanged.

Cession.

BAHRAM KHAN.—Pottinger mentions that Bahram Khan made his appearance in Balochisthan during the reign of Nasseer Khan, and created some disturbances; but being defeated at Kohak by the latter in an engagement, again retired to Cabool, to which place he had originally accompanied his sister, Bibee Jan.

FAMILY.—Nasseer Khan had nine wives and concubines; for many years none of his sons by them grew up, but all died at an early age. He had nine daughters, four of which he gave in marriage to the four sons of Meer Kamal Khan, Eltazye; the eldest, by name Maee Zainab, commonly known as Maee Sahab, married Meer Sayad Khan. He gave his other daughters in marriage to the Gichkees and Meerwanees.

SONS.—When Meer Nasseer Khan was almost beginning to despair of male issue, Bibee Khudejah presented him with two sons, Mahomed Khan and Meer Mustafa Khan; and by another wife, Bibee Jattee, daughter of Kamal Khan, he had a third son, Mahommad Raheem Khan.

DEATH.—Meer Nasseer Khan's death took place at Ganjabah, about 6 months after Timoor Shah's, which happened on the 20th May 1793, and his young but eldest son, Mahmood, succeeded him at the early age of eight years.

DURANEE HISTORY.—Mahmood Khan is twice mentioned in the Duranee history; once together with his brother, Mustafa Khan, as having in 1804 paid his respects to Shah Shuja at

Bagh, when that monarch was on his way from Candahar to Sindh, and a second time as having in 1814 paid his respects to Shah Mahmood at the same place.

Bahram Khan.—Pottinger says that, in the early part of Mahmood's reign, Bahram Khan again made his appearance in Balochisthan, and the ministers of Mahmood Khan were obliged to cede to him the district of Cutchee, on condition of his not molesting the remaining territory; with this condition Bahram did not comply, but raised a large Force, and assumed a threatening attitude: the ministers of Mahmood in alarm applied to Shah Zaman, who sent a Chief to arrange matters, which becoming impossible, war was declared. After several minor engagements the rivals had a general one, in which Bahram Khan was defeated owing to the defection, during the engagement, of several Chiefs and their contingents. He fled to Hyderabad, where the Ameers refused him refuge for fear of the displeasure of Shah Zaman. He then set out for Bhawalpore, and died of fatigue on the road, at Tanda-i-Kalandar Shah.

Daee Beebo.—Mahmood's nurse, Daee Beebo, became a person of great note from her method of bringing up the young Khan. When Mahmood and Mustafa grew up, dissensions were sown between them. Maee Sahab, Ahmed Yar Khan, and the Eltazyes supported Mustafa Khan in Cutchee; while on Meer Mahmood's side were Mulla Futteh Mahommed, Wukeel, Naib Abdu Rahman, Badozye, and Meyan Ruhulla Babee. Such was the dissension that it spread to families; fathers and uncles would be on one side, and sons and nephews on the other. However, when Meer Mahmood, according to custom, went to Cutchee for the winter, Meer Mustafa would pay him the compliment of coming to Peer Chatta to meet him.

Dissensions.

Mahommad Raheem.—Meer Mahommad Raheem Khan had fifty horse, and was in the pay of his elder brother. He was a great drunkard, but a generous man and a bold soldier; and he nearly succeeded in putting an entire stop to highway robbery in Cutchee.

Character.—Mustafa was a great tyrant, and his punishments were most cruel.

Mahmood, although addicted to gambling, drinking, and more degrading vices, was both humane and indolent to a fault. It is reported of him, that, after ordering a culprit to be placed in confinement, he would go in person at night and release him. He was a man of great strength, and it is said could straighten a horse-shoe.

Campaigns.—Mahmood, it is said, accompanied Shah Mahmood twice towards Herat; and that monarch and Shah Shuja to the Derajahs and Sinde.

Myan Ruhulla.—Myan Ruhulla, being a man of great talent and influence among the Brahoces, was looked upon by Maee Sahab with great suspicion and as a dangerous rival.

She persuaded her colleague, Mustafa, to attempt the Myan's murder. They could not for several years, however, find an opportunity. At last one winter, when Meer Mahmood was on his way to Cutchee, on arriving at Nad, he heard that Mustafa had assembled a Force to oppose his further advance. He immediately dispatched a confidential slave, by name Hajee Barat, to Mustafa, who succeeded in appeasing the latter, and Meer Mahmood advanced into Cutchee, and made Gundava (properly Gunjabah) his head quarters. It was at this place, on the eve of the Eed Kurban, when Mahmood was sleeping outside the town, that Hajee Ubdu Rahman Kamangar, muazin of the mosque of Nasseer Khan and an accomplice of Mustafa's, came, and informed his master that Myan Ruhulla was asleep and alone. The Khan, thinking it a favorable opportunity, and attended by Shahghasee Deen Mahommed, repaired unobserved to the Myan quarters, and, finding him asleep, murdered him. They afterwards made an attempt to murder Mulla Futteh Mahommed, Wukeel, and Naib Abdu Rahman in their quarters, but failed. Mustafa Khan, when the unusual consternation produced by this event was still at its height, dispatched, by the Nagour road to Kalat, Sultan Mahommed, Murad Mullazye, and Meer Allee, the nephews of Darogah Gul Mahommed, with orders to

Murder.

Confiscation.

confiscate the Myan's property as well as that of the following Babee merchants, who were all imprisoned, *viz.*, Khaleefa Abdul Kareem, father of the present Faiz Ahmed, Mulla Alif, Bostan, and Myan Moorulla, brother of the deceased.

Imprisonment.

Meer Mustafa some time after came to Kalat himself, and released the Babee merchants, having realized, it is said, nearly four lakhs of Rupees from the confiscated property.

Release.

Relationship.—Noor Mahommed Khan, Moosanee, father of the present Meer Boohir, had, on hearing of the death of Myan Ruhulla, taken his family to a place of safety at Noghiana, for the sake of the relationship that existed between them, Myan Sibaghatulla, the son of Myan Ruhulla, having married a daughter of Noor Mahomed Khan's.

Meer Fakeer.—Another of the events that marked the reign of Mahmood Khan happened as follows :—Meer Fakeer, father of Reia Bezanjo, rebelled. Meer Mahommed reported the subject to Shah Shuja, and as he, as an Amadzye, could not inflict the punishment of death, requested the king to depute one of his own nobles to sanction the adoption of extreme measures towards the rebel. Naib Gul Mahmood, Populzye, was accordingly dispatched, and arrived at Kalat, and from that place accompanied Mahmood Khan to Khozdar, where Fakeer and forty of his followers were captured and slain. Meer Mehrab Khan, during the Barukzye usurpation, did not hesitate to put Brahoees to death without any sanction but his own.

Execution.

Quettah.—During Mahmood's time Quettah was twice sacked by the Kakars.

Maskat.—An embassy from the Imam of Maskat came to Kalat during Mahmood's time, and never after.

Quarrels.—The two brothers, Mustafa and Mahmood, were continually quarrelling, but always made it up after a short time until the following occurrence took place :—

Maee Sahab, Ahmed Yar Khan, Meer Eltaz, and their party, determining to have a struggle for sole power, proposed to connect themselves by marriage with the Talpoor family of Sinde, at the head of which there were the four brothers, Gholam Alee, Karam Alee, Murad Alee, and Futteh Alee.

Intrigue.—Maee Sahab and Meer Ahmed Yar Khan set out for Sinde, and gave to Meer Karam Alee in marriage Bibee Fatimah, the sister of Ahmed Yar Khan. The Meer in return gave as a settlement the district of Shahdadpoor and Rupees 2,000, and gave Maee Sahab great hopes of support to her cause.

Marriage.

Disgust.—This ill-judged match disgusted Meer Mahmood Mustafa Khan, and the whole of the Brahoees, and even the friends of Maee Sahab, equally ; the Talpoors being considered a very low tribe, as the following Baloch verse will show :—

Verse.	*Translation.*
Kedds, Gabal Godhai Pachalo, Talpoor Bewakai Maree. Durust Ghulam-i-Chakare. Banadi Bashkathaga. Datk-Nazurth Hadaiya.	Kedds, Gabols, Gadhais, Pachalos, Talpoors, and lawless Murees. All were slaves of Chakar (Rind), with Banadi (his daughter) as a dowry he gave, Hadaiya (his son-in-law) would not have them.

Deputation.—Mustafa Khan, Akhund Futteh Mahommed, and Naib Abdu Rahman were deputed to Candahar to interest the king in revenging this insult. They had already a friend at court in the Wuzeer, Sher Mahommed Khan. They offered to conduct the king through the Bolan Pass (an offer never before made), and to assist him in collecting the arrears of tribute. They also gave Meer Mahmood's daughter, Bibee Emnah, to the king's eldest son, the present Prince, Timoor.

Betrothal.

On Shah Shuja's arrival at Shikarpoor he devastated the country on this side the Indus, and compelled the Ameers, after a great deal of hesitation and evasion, to pay the sum of 24 lakhs of Rupees as arrears of tribute; three more lakhs being spent in fees and presents to the courtiers. The Talpoors, grateful for no heavier penalty, vowed Rupees 12,000 worth of silver to adorn the doors of the shrine of Sal Shahbaz at Dehwar. The Talpoors then entered into a Treaty with Mahmood Khan, and expelled Maee Sahab from their territory. The Khan then accompanied the king on his way to Dera and Peshawur as far as Dajal, and thence returned to Kalat.

Tribute.

Treaty.

Meer Mustafa Khan and Mahommed Raheem Khan were deadly enemies. Mustafa Khan resided at Bagh and Maee Sahab at Kotdo, and the former was in the habit of going on weekly visits to the latter with a few horse for the purpose of hunting in the neighbourhood at Futtehpoor. During one of these hunting excursions Mahommed Raheem Khan happened to be hunting in the same neighbourhood at Panjak. On hearing of the proximity of his brother and enemy, he abandoned the hunt, and proceeded with his few followers to attack his brother: an engagement took place. Mustafa Khan was killed and Mahommed Raheem fled to Dajal, where Naib Sadar was acting for Mustafa Khan, and after sacking this place he retired to Janpoor, near Dera. Maee Sahab took the corpse of Meer Mustafa to Bagh, and built a splendid mausoleum over it. Mustafa Khan left one son, Sarfraz Khan, a daughter, Bibee Ganjan, and two widows, Bibee Ganj Khatoo, sister of Meerulla Khan, Raisanee, and Bibee Hazaree, daughter of Meer Hasal Khan, Shahwanee. During these transactions Meer Mahmood was at Kalat.

Hunting.

Death of Mustafa.

Relicts.

Mahommed Raheem, not being able to rest at one place, was brought by his evil genius again to Panjak and to the neighbourhood of Maee Sahab, who burned to revenge the death, not only of a brother, but, it is whispered, of a lover. She stole upon him one day while asleep, attended only by a slave, Baloch, who was shampooing him, and her attendants immediately dispatched him after a short resistance. The corpse was brought to Gundava, and afterwards sent to Baghbana. He left no family.

Death of Mahommed Raheem.

Meer Mahmood had now nothing to fear: but this independence came too late, for disease was making great inroads on his constitution. He at last fell a victim to zabitus, a disease brought on by venerial excesses while yet a young man, having reigned 24 years. He left three wives, one concubine, three sons, and one daughter, Meer Mahommed Mehrab Khan, Meer Mahommed Azam Khan, and Bibee Emnah of one mother, Bibee Sakhee, a Shaeezye Mogul. The third son, Maddat Khan, of the concubine died at an early age.

Death of Mahmood.

Relicts.

Death of Maee Sahab.—Maee Sahab died in the reign of Mehrab Khan of a stroke of a hot wind in the Moola Pass.

Mehrab Khan.—When Meer Mahommed Mehrab Khan succeeded his father, he had arrived at years of discretion.

At the time of Mahmood's death Shahzadah Kamran was at Candahar and Mansoor Khan was Governor of Shikarpoor. Akhund Futteh Mahommed lost no time in repairing to the latter place, and in persuading the Khan to accompany him back to Kalat, where, assisted by the Brahoee Chiefs, he installed Mehrab Khan, on the part of the king, Chief of Kalat, notwithstanding the opposition of Maee Sahab, the Eltazyes, and Meer Ahmed Yar Khan, who wished to declare the latter.

Opposition.

Rebellion.—When Mehrab Khan, after his installation, left Cutchee, and was returning to Kalat, Maee Sahab took Ahmed Yar Khan, and retired with him to Shawl, the place of

Ahmed Khan, Magasee, and collected a Force of Chandyas and other Brahoees. Mehrab Khan, on the other hand, collected a Force at Gunjabah, and encamped at Panjak. No engagement,

Peace.

however, took place, and matters were peaceably arranged by Akhund Futteh Mahommed and Naib Abdu Rahman; Maee Sahab and Ahmed Yar Khan accompanying the New Khan to Kalat. Abdu Rahman was left behind as Governor of Cutchee, and Wukeel Futteh Mahommed had otherwise the sole direction and management of affairs. After some time, however, Mehrab Khan entrusted the management of affairs to his mother, Bibee Sahtee, and her manager again was Meer

Abdul Kadir.

Abdul Kadir, son of Naib Abdu Rahman, who soon supplanted his father and led Mehrab Khan into every kind of debauchery. Some of the Khan's slaves, such as Meero and Mubarak, made a point of praising their patron

Dad Mahommed.

to Mehrab Khan in private. About this time Dad Mahommed, Umarzye Ghilzye, came into notice; he was one of the *Peshkidmats* of Mehrab Khan, and kept the seal with which the daily order for rations was sealed. This man, in the time of Mahmood, was dog-keeper to the young Mehrab, but, getting into a scrape about an intrigue with one of Nurse Beebo's slave-girls, fled and took service with Hajee Barat. He was once employed in collecting the revenue of Dajal. Mulla Fakeer Mahommed, a *Khanazad*, was the manager of Kalat, and kept the Dafturs: Darogah Gul Mahommed and Shahghasee were of no note.

Akhund Futteh Mahommed still continued to serve faithfully, although superseded and surrounded by enemies, the foremost of which was the Khan's mother. For fear of her, it is said, the Wukeel was often afraid to go to his house at night, and slept by the Khan.

Although Mulla Abdul Kadir used to interfere in the Wukeel's province, he always desisted

Conspiracy.

when complaints were made to the Khan. At last the following enemies of the Wukeel conspired together and determined to attempt his ruin: they were Mulla Abdul Kadir, Meer Eltaz, Meerulla Khan, Raisanee, and some Ghulams.

Meer Mubarick, the son of Mulla Futteh Mahommed, and Meer Kadir Bakhsh, Zahree, Chief of Jhalawan, his son-in-law, were both (unknown to each other) enamoured of one of Mulla Futteh Mahommed's slave-girls.

The conclave, therefore, first made a disclosure to each party of the other's successful amour, and thus succeeded in making them deadly enemies. At last, in the month of Ramzan, when Meer Mubarick was performing ablution in his own room, Kadir Bukhsh stole

Death of Meer Mubarick.

upon him and killed him, and then fled to Bibee Lal Baiee, Eltazye, widow of Meer Mahmood Khan (his own mother being an Eltazye), where he remained in concealment three days. These same Chiefs, after Meer Mubariek's death, importuned the Khan to kill Kadir Bukhsh, to avenge the blood of Meer Mubarick. Their object was to involve Meer Futteh Mahommed in a bloody feud with the Zahrees, and to deprive the Akhund of the powerful influence of such a son-in-law. Meer

Death of Kadir Bukhsh.

Kadir Bukhsh was accordingly killed in the Meeree of Gundava while bathing, and his corpse was taken to Zahree by Taj Mahommed, Zahree, his cousin.

Akhund Futteh Mahommed, by the counsel of the Zahrees and consent of the Khan, then set out for Candahar to sue for revenge: Shahzadah Kamran appointed Sirdar Poordil Khan,

Poordil Khan.

Barukzye, to accompany the Wukeel, and to carry out his views in respect to Abdul Kadir and Meer Eltaz. Wuzeer Futteh Khan was a friend of the Akhunds.

On Kamran starting for Herat Poordil Khan set out for Dadar; on arriving there he suggested to the Wukeel that they should commence destroying Naib Abdu Rahman's property,

but the former would not consent. They then proceeded to Gundava, and Poordil Khan proposed the seizure of Abdu Rahman, but the Akhund again refused his consent.

This wavering and repenting annoyed Poordil Khan, and caused him to accept the overture made to him at this time by Naib Abdu Rahman, accompanied by a bribe of Rupees 30,000; and no doubt the Akhund would soon have had cause to repent his lenience, had not at this time the news arrived of Wuzeer Futteh Khan being blinded. On receiving the intelligence Poordil Khan immediatly set out for Candahar, and the deaths of Mulla Futteh Mahommed's son and son-in-law remained both unavenged.

Bribery.

Wuzeer Futteh Khan.

Rebellion.—Maee Sahab, Ahmed Yar Khan, and Sirdar Khan Rind again rebelled, and took up their quarters in Sawee; having gained over the Khajaks. Mehrab Khan collected a Force and marched against them. Maee Sahab stood a twenty days' siege, and then made a conditional surrender, and with Ahmed Yar Khan and Sarfraz Khan, the son of Meer Mustafa, accompanied Mehrab Khan to Gundava; Meer Ahmed Yar Khan having first sent his wife and two sons to Sagan.

Surrender.

Mehrab Khan tried for a long time to get Ahmed Yar Khan to send for his two sons, but his friends persuaded him not to trust Mehrab Khan. At last, unable longer to resist the latter's importunities, the sons were sent for, and the whole party left Cutchee for Kalat.

Mulla Abdul Kadir dispatched one Dadulla Khan to Candahar to Poordil Khan, whom Naib Abdu Rahman had secured in his interests by the Rupees 30,000 bribe, and got him to address letters to Maee Sahab and Ahmed Yar Khan in answer to supposed proposals made by them, to the effect that "their letters had been received by Poordil Khan, who recommended them to pursue the course they had adopted, and promised that he would start with a Force as soon as their plans were matured."

Plot.

These letters were shown to Mehrab Khan as intercepted ones, and in proof of the treachery of Ahmed Yar Khan. Mehrab being loath to believe it, other letters were procured and shown; the Khan believed them to be genuine, and Mulla Abdul Kadir, Meer Eesa Khan, Mongul, Dad Mahommed, Ghilzye, and Meero Ghulam, did not hesitate to advise the Khan to do away with both Ahmed Yar Khan and Sarfraz Khan, who at last agreed to it. Accordingly, in the month of Rajub, one day early in the morning, Meer Ahmed Yar Khan was summoned before Mehrab Khan, being at the time an invalid, and cut down in the presence. Meer Sarfraz was then sent for; they found him reading the *koran*, which book he brought to the presence with him, and by it entreated Mehrab to spare his life. His entreaties were of no avail; he was slaughtered on the spot, Meer Eesa Khan striking the first blow; Mulla Raiee, Shahghasee Barfee, and fifteen others of the deceased's attendants were killed at the same time. Ahmed Yar's sons, Meer Shahnawaz and Meer Futteh Khan, with their mother, were confined; and they remained under strict surveillance for near twenty years. These murders were committed at Gundava, and Mehrab Khan returned to Kalat, leaving Mulla Abdul Kadir Governor of Bagh.

Deaths of Ahmed Yar Khan and Sarfraz Khan.

Meer Eltaz.—On the march and in the absence of the above Dad Mahommed and Meer Eltaz completely gained the confidence and trust of the Khan, who soon after married Bibee Magany, the daughter of Meer Eltaz; and made the father his manager, Dad Mahommed having in reality all the power.

Mulla Abdul Kadir, thus finding himself supplanted, appropriated to himself about a lakh of Rupees of the Cutchee collections; and proceeded to Kahnak and joined Meerulla, Raisanee. Mehrab tried to coax him to Kalat, but Poordil Khan and the Kakers some time dissuaded him. At last his father, Abdu Rahman, wrote him a letter, and, among other affecting appeals

begged him not to prove false to the shade of Nasseer Khan. Unable to withstand these entreaties, he set out, and, having reached Manyochar, sent and requested that a respectable man might be sent from Kalat to meet and re-assure him. Kueen Khan, Zahree, and Mulla Futteh Mahommed, Khanazad, were deputed with secret instructions to murder him, which they did; the father, Abdu Rahman, being murdered at the same time at Kalat. The family property was confiscated, and some time afterwards Meer Yar Mahommed, Shaeezye Mongul, removed the family to a place of safety at Wad.

Murder of Abdul Kadir and Abdu Rahman.

Death of Meer Eltaz.—During this time the Baloches of Cutchee were committing great depredations; and when Mehrab Khan was on his way to that district, Meer Eltaz died, having been Sahabkar, or manager, only one year.

Duranee History.—In the Duranee history Mehrab Khan is only mentioned once as having paid his respects to Mahommed Azeem Khan, Barukzye, and Ayoob Shah in 1820, when on their way from Candahar to Shikarpoor, at which latter place Shah Shuja was.

Dad Mahommed.—On the death of Meer Eltaz Dad Mahommed became all-powerful, but he did not make a discreet use of his power, for he was in the habit of treating the Brahoee Sirdars with disrespect, deriding their appearance and peculiarities of manner in public Durbar.

His assumption so disgusted the Sirdars, especially those of Sarawan, that they deputed Sayad Mahommed Shareef to Candahar, offering all to pay their respects to the Chiefs of that Province if they would promise them their assistance.

Defection.—Sirdar Sher Dil Khan wanted to get Shikarpoor from the Scindians: he therefore treated the Sayad with great distinction, and he was dispatched with an Agreement and a dress of honor. The whole of the Sarawan Chiefs then repaired to Candahar and received dresses of honor.

Deputation.—Mehrab Khan in great alarm dispatched Myan Sibaghatulla to Candahar, to make a Treaty with the Chief, Poordil Khan, and to persuade the Sarawan Chiefs to return to their allegiance. At the time of his arrival Sher Dil Khan had advanced two stages, as far as Daee; but was obliged to return from sickness.

Treaty.—A sham Treaty was concluded, which provided for the removal of Dad Mahommed and the appointment of Futteh Mahommed to be Wukeel; Sayad Mahommed Shareef to be Naib of Dajal; Mahommed Khan, Shawanee, to be Naib of Dadur; Misree, Shaeezye Mongul, to be Naib of Shawl; Arif Khan, Mambaranee, to be Naib of Mustung; and Rupees 60,000 of the year 1234 A. H. to be paid (nominally to defray the expenses of dresses and entertainment to the Brahoees). The Sarawan Brahoees required the Khan's brother, Mahommed Azam, Wukeel Mahommed Sideek, Meer Rusheed, Zahree, and Meer Eesa Khan, Shaeezye Mongul, to come to Candahar to coax them back to their allegiance. The Sirdars dispatched Mulla Abdul Ghyas, in company with the Shahzadah, back to Kalat. The latter commenced intriguing with Mahommed Sideek Khan and the other enemies of the Khan: these comprised the whole of the Brahoee Chiefs, with the exception of Wulee Mahommed, Mongul, and Ahmed Khan, Magasee, who with one consent determined on killing Dad Mahommed, even should no other opportunity be afforded them than in the presence of the Khan.

Terms.

Consultation.—A few nights after the return of Sibaghatulla to Kalat Mehrab Khan sent for Wukeel Futteh Mahommed and requested him to proceed to Candahar, instead of Mahommed Sideek, who was an enemy of his. To this proposal the Akhund did not agree, and Mehrab Khan, slightly annoyed, said, "then you had better put your hands and feet in henna, and I will go myself." The Akhund was either playing a double part, or was led away by the Eltazyes Eesa Khan, Meer Booheer, Rusheed Khan. Mahommed Khan Rind to regard the Khan's allusion to the

Defection of the Wukeel.

red dye as a threat to kill him be—either the true reason he certainly immediately joined and headed the malcontents.

Towards the evening of the next day the whole of the Brahoees openly rebelled, and drew up on the road to Iskalko of the Shahwanees. Mehrab Khan moved out, and encamped in front of them, with the Ghulams or slaves, the Babees, and the town and suburb people, attended by Wulee Mahommed, Mongul, and Ahmed Khan, Magasee. Myan Sibaghatulla, with the Khan's consent, brought his mother and put her down between the confronting Forces. This of course was a signal for a truce. Until midnight the Sahibzada Sibaghatulla vainly endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and Mehrab Khan retired into the citadel; and the Sahibzada succeeded in getting his friend the Wukeel's family out of the town.

Rebellion.

Next day the Sahabzadee, Sayad Jamal Shah, Nazar Juma, Meer Jam Alee, and Meer Yakoob Khan, Eltazye, were sent on a deputation to the rebels with the following proposals, *viz.*, that Dad Mahommed should be deposed and made over to them for execution, banishment, or pardon; that the Akhund should occupy his place; and that they should all receive their former jagheers. To these terms the rebels would not agree, saying, they had no faith in the Khan's promises or oaths regarding Dad Mahommed. On the Khan's deputation returning, Meer Kamal Khan, Meer Rusheed Khan, and Meer Yakoob Khan remained behind; the former was the last: on nearing the walls of Kalat a chance shot was fired by one of Ahmed Khan, Magasee's men, and Meer Rusheed Khan returned to the rebels on the pretence that the shot was fired at him.

Deputation.

Defections.

The rebels moved off for Soherab, and Mehrab Khan sent Jam Alee to try and make terms. He also remained in the rebel camp.

Embassy to Candahar.—The Khan at last, in despair, dispatched Hajee Barat, Meer Gul Mahommed, Ghilzye, Dewan Khemchund, and Sibaghatulla to Candahar, with Mulla Ghyas, the Khan's mother, and the stipulated Rupees 60,000.

Death of Sher Dil.—On the night of the rebellion of the Wukeel and the Jhalawan Chiefs, Mulla Ghyas received intelligence of the death of Sirdar Sher Dil Khan at Candahar.

On the embassy arriving at Kahnak, the tribes of Sarawan assembled, and tried to prevent the Maee proceeding to Candahar. Maee Naz Khatoo, niece of the Khan's mother and wife of Mahommed Khan, Shahwanee, interceded and prevented the detention of the embassy.

Poordil Khan.—Poordil Khan, on hearing of the approach of the embassy, left Candahar and encamped at Daee, that it might be thought he was prepared to take severe notice of the delay made by Mehrab Khan in sending the deputation according to Treaty; at the first interview, therefore, although Poordil Khan received Maee Sahab with great courtesy, the delay was severely censured; and the Khan insisted on the payment of three lahks, instead of Rupees 60,000. This being agreed to, Poordil Khan offered before the payment of the money to put a Force at the disposal of Maee Sahab, to punish the refractory Wukeel and rebels of Jhalawan. She, however, proposed returning to Candahar with the Khan, from which place dresses of honor were immediately dispatched for Mehrab Khan and Dad Mahommed.

Increase of tribute.

Terms.—On terms being made with Poordil Khan, Mehrab Khan again sent proposals to the rebels in Cutchee, and Mahommed Sideek Khan, Meer Rusheed Khan, and Meer Kamal Khan proceeded to Kalat, on its being promised that Dad Mahommed should be given up to them, and that their jagheers should be restored. However, on their approaching Kalat, Mehrab Khan furnished Dad Mahommed with 1,000 Ducats and 60 horses, and told him to take refuge in Noshky; from this place Dad Mahommed dispatched his father, Sher Mahommed, to Candahar, with an offer to come and pay his

Reception.

respects to the Sirdar, and he in person immediately followed and was received with great distinction.

RETURN OF EMBASSY.—The deputation remained five months in Candahar, and started on its return in the winter, accompanied, as far as Sharawak, by the Sirdar's son, Meer Afzal Khan, and the whole way by Juma Khan, Barukzye. The Sarawan Chiefs also returned to their country, and Sibaghatulla and Khemchund were detained as security for the payment of what remained of the three lakhs. Mehrab Khan would not see his mother for a month after her arrival at Kalat, pretending to be offended at her having agreed to the payment of the three lakhs, and Dad Mahommed remained at Giránee at the Khan's request.

FAILURE TO NEGOTIATION.—The Khan then sent his mother to Cutchee to reconcile the rebels. They would not listen to terms and Mahommed Sideek and Meer Rusheed Khan also left Kalat and proceeded to Cutchee in disgust.

Surrender of Mehrab.

After the winter was over, and the spring harvest reaped in Cutchee, the rebels proceeded to Khozdar, and threatened to continue their contributions in the direction of Kech. Mehrab Khan, seeing his overthrow approaching, proceeded with a few attendants to Khozdar, and threw himself on the mercy of his Wukeel.

After reconciling the rebels by such degrading proceeding, Mehrab Khan sent for Dad Mahommed, and re-installed him after giving him a dress of honor and going through the mockery of sending him to the Akhund.

TREATY ANNULLED.—Mehrab Khan, according to the Treaty with Poordil Khan, appointed the Naibs of the latter's nomination; but soon after deposed them. This and the re-installation of Dad Mahommed rendered the Treaty with Candahar null and void.

Dajal sold.

Sayad Mahommed Shareef, Naib of Dajal, had already sold the district to Nawab Bahawul Khan.

MEERULLA KHAN.—The death of Meerulla Khan is one of the events that mark the reign of Mehrab Khan: it occurred in the following manner:—He was a Raisanee by tribe, and son of Mulla Mahommed; the mother of Sarfraz Khan, Bibee Ganj Khatoo, was his half-sister, and the mother of Abdul Kadir, Bibee Sahto, was his niece. On this account he was an enemy of Dad Mahommed, who caused their deaths, and Dad Mahommed, aware of this, continued to prejudice the Khan, who had now become completely his dupe against him. At last

Murder of Meerulla.

Meerulla Khan was sent for to the Meeree under pretence of his counsel being required, and there, in the presence of the Khan, was murdered. Yoosuf Khan and Meer Zungee, Raisanees, were killed near the mosque outside of the citadel, and Sakeer Mahommed was killed in his own house in the town. Mehrab Khan that night pitched his camp towards Khozdar preparatory to proceeding to Cutchee.

DEFECTION OF SARAWAN.—These murders spread the greatest consternation through the country, and in the spring the whole of the Sarawan Chiefs again sought refuge and redress in Candahar. Mohundil Khan collected a Force and marched for Balochisthan. He arrived at and ravaged Shawl, Seerec, and Pilingabad. Mehrab Khan, after great delay, collected an ill-organized Force, and marched for Mustung. At Shireenab the two advanced guards met, and an engagement ensued, in which the Brahoee troops suffered themselves to be defeated.

Invasion.

Engagement.

TRIBUTE.—Mehrab Khan, discovering an extensive and dangerous defection among his troops, was forced to buy off the Candahar Force for Rupees 40,000 in A. H. 1234, and to give Meerza Gul Mahommed as security for the payment of the money in Candahar. Rohundil Khan, having procured satisfaction for himself, returned to Candahar, leaving the Sarawan Chiefs at the mercy of Mehrab Khan.

Dad Mahommed's connections.

Dad Mahommed, seeing his influence declining and becoming daily more unpopular, determined to connect himself by marriage with the Brahoees. He first took the daughter of Rais Khan Mahommed Dehwar. He next proposed for the daughter of Meer Misree, Shaeezye Mongul, but was refused. He then took the daughter of Eesa Khan, Shaeezye Mongul, and the daughter of Wadera Jan Mahommed, Bangulzye, for his brother, Khan Mahommed. He also made overtures to get up a party of the following, *viz.*, Meer Wallee Mahommed Khan, Ghulámzye Mongul, Meer Fazal Khan, Zagar Mongul, Ahmed Khan, Magasee, and Meer Bijad, Keerwanee of Kech, and at Candahar with Mámmá (Khuda Nazar Khan, Ghilzye), and through him with Sirdar Rahamdil Khan. The reason for his conciliating Meer Bijad was to seeure Kech as a place of refuge in case of his being disgraced at court.

Place of retreat.

Dad Mahommed's usurpation.—Day by day Dad Mahommed became more powerful, till at last the Khan himself was not looked up to, and the former collected the revenue, and disbursed it as his own caprice dictated; he even proceeded so far as to give the Khan insulting answers, and to mimie him and to boast to his face that he had the power of deposing him. He was in the habit of withholding the household expenses for months together, and the Khan dared not remonstrate; he sometimes would not rise when Mehrab entered Durbar.

Exposure.—The Khan's eyes were at last opened, and he determined on ridding himself of Dad Mahommed, and broached the subject to Naib Mahommed Hassan, Shahghasee Noor Mahommed, Mahommed Sideek, Wukeel, Abdul Kareem Khan, Raisanee, and several others. The firmly-rooted infatuation of the Khan was, however, so well known to them, that they would not believe him when he told them he wished Dad Mahommed's death.

For a whole year he failed to convince them, till at last, when the winter approached and the time for the Court moving to Cutchee arrived, the Khan, as usual, requested Dad Mahommed that the funds necessary for the preparations should be produced. Dad Mahommed put the Khan off from day to day (and it is said that the tents remained pitched for two months), and at last flatly refused the funds. Mehrab Khan, no longer able to bear with this assumption, sent for Dad Mahommed to the Meeree, and high words were exchanged; Mehrab Khan rising and retiring, and Dad Mahommed doing the same, to the suite of rooms occupied by the Khan's mother for the purpose of performing ablution before saying prayers.

Dad Mahommed's assumption.

Naib Mahommed Hassan and Wukeel Mahommed Sideek, with others of their party, had some time before consented to attempt the life of Dad Mahommed, who was aware of their intentions, but doubted their daring.

Death of Dad Mahommed.—As the latter was performing his ablutions as above mentioned, Naib Mahommed Hassan stole stealthily behind him with a drawn sword, and cut him down; Shahghassee Noor Mahommed following the example.

Boast.—When I first met Naib Mahommed Hassan at Hustung in June 1838, with Syud Mahommed Shareef, the latter praised the bravery of the former as displayed on the above occasion, and pointed to the identieal sword with whieh the deed was done and which hung by the Naib's side with great pride.

Appointment.—Dad Mahomed's property, to the amount of from 4 to 5 lakhs, was confiseated, but it was thought that a great quantity had been coneealed, and Mahommed Hassan was appointed Naib and Mahomed Sideek Wukeel, with all the honors. The Khan, however, thought and acted for himself, kept his own seals, and had his aeeounts kept by a Hindoo, by name Dewan Bachamal.

Escape of Shahnawaz and Futteh Khan.—When Shah Shuja was beseiging Candahar in 1834, Meer Shahnawaz Khan and Futteh Khan made their escape from the Meeree of Kalat,

and their flight was not known till next day at noon. On their arrival at Pishing they met Sirdar Samandar Khan on his retreat from Candahar, where Shah Shuja had been defeated, and returned with him to his estate of Hanna, in the district of Shawl. They then took refuge for a short time in the Kakar country, and then separated; Shahnawaz proceeding to Candahar, where Sirdar Kohun Dil Khan, at the recommendation of Mulla Nassoo Lodeen, for some time afforded him support; and Meer Futteh Khan taking refuge with Meer Rusheed Khan, Zahree, here. After some time, having assembled a Force, he moved down on Cutchee, and was there joined by his brother, Shahnawaz, from Candahar: several engagements took place between them and the Khan's brother, Mahomed Azam Khan, with varying success, until they were completely defeated by the latter at Dadar, and obliged to proceed to their former retreats.

Opposition.

MEER FUTTEH KHAN.—Mehrab then moved a Force against Rusheed Khan, and demanded that his *protegé*, Futteh Khan, should be given up; this Rusheed Khan refused: at last, at the mediation of the Brahoees, Futteh Khan was given up to Meer Wallee Mahommed and Raheem Khan to keep. Mehrab Khan then tried to bribe them to deliver up their charge to him, but found they had too much honor for him, for they not only refused thus to dishonor themselves, but assisted Futteh Khan in making his escape to the Sasolees, from which tribe he retreated to Sinde and took protection with his aunt, Bibee Fatimah, at Hyderabad, where he got addicted to low pursuits and debauched habits, as did his brother, Shahnawaz, at Candahar, who on that account was neglected by Kohun Dil Khan and reduced to great distress.

Pursuits of the brothers.

SHAH SHUJA.—Shah Shuja, on his defeat, retreated *viâ* Lash, Seistan, and Sharawak. On his arrival at the latter place the Sirdars became aware of his proximity, and fitted out a "chapao," under Rahamdil Khan, for his pursuit and capture; which latter was so nearly being effected, that, before the rear of the king's baggage had left the ground at Mungochar, the advance of the pursuing party reached it, and succeeded in capturing some baggage ponies. The Shah, on his arrival at Kalat, sought the tent of Mehrab Khan and threw himself on his protection. The Khan received him with great honor and all the deference due from a vassal to his sovereign.

Pursuit.

Escape.

On leaving Mehrab Khan, scarcely had His Majesty reached his own suite of tents, when Jan Mahommed Khan, Kuzzalbash, arrived on the part of Sirdar Rahamdil Khan, to demand the person of the king.

His Majesty, in the greatest alarm, sent Mehrab Khan a golden hooka and 500 goldmohurs by Kazee Mullah Hassan, Peshawaree, but the Khan, contrary to the advice of menials, returned them; and then, contrary to the advice of his courtiers, told Jan Mahommed to tell Raham Khan, "if he wanted his friendship, to refrain from his demand, as he was prepared to sacrifice his life, property, country, and tribe in the service, or at the feet of his lawful king." On Jan Mahommed taking his leave, and after the king had halted for some time at Kalat, the Khan furnished him with respectable men to accompany him to Bagh. On his arrival at the latter place he heard of the death of Samandar Khan at Siwee, and therefore proceeded without delay to Shikarpoor.

Conduct of Mehrab.

EVENTS OF 1838.—But to proceed from these events to those of the year 1838. On the 15th January of that year I arrived at Candahar, on a mission to the Sirdars, the object of which was to detach them from an alliance they were on the point of entering into with Persia, and in which I found Mehrab Khan was prepared to join them, notwithstanding he had sent an embassy avowedly to consult with them on the method of relieving Herat.

EVENTS OF 1838.—In order to make known the Governor General's declaration that the British Government acknowledged and respected all the different holders of power in

Afghanistan, I addressed a letter direct to Mehrab Khan with the consent of Rahamdil Khan. Some time elasped before I received an answer, and I only heard that Mehrab Khan was piqued at Rahamdil Khan being made privy to our correspondence. Notwithstanding this, I afterwards discovered that the delay in receiving an answer to my letter was occasioned by the Khan writing from Kalat to Candahar to consult the Sirdar regarding the style of answer he ought to return. This shows that the supremacy of Candahar was acknowledged by the Khan.

Events of 1838.—On it becoming necessary for Sir Alexander Burnes in April 1838 to break off all intercourse with Ameer Dost Mahommed, and to proceed direct to Peshawur, I was ordered direct to Shikarpoor by the Bolan route.

On my arrival at Shawl in June, the Bolan route being reported impassable by the Governor of Shawl on account of the hot winds, and knowing that the Governor General, when he originally organized our mission, intended it should visit Mehrab Khan on its return to Hindostan, I determined on getting invited to Kalat to wait till the end of the hot weather. Having procured the necessary invitation, I proceeded to Kalat, where I held constant intercourse with the Khan for three months.

Before I became aware of the intention of Government to restore Shah Shuja, he foresaw that it would take place, and became very anxious to conclude a Treaty with the British Government, saying, he was favorable to the Shah's cause, not from choice, for the king had, ever since he left Kalat, expressed his gratitude for his safety, which he owed, after Providence, to him, but from necessity, for the protection he had afforded to the fugitive Sadozye monarch had made deadly enemies to him of the Barukzye faction, which now ruled Afghanistan.

Events of 1838.

Whilst at Kalat I constantly wrote to Government, pointing out the value of Khan's friendship in case an Army advanced by the Bolan route; but although, while at Kalat, I received intelligence of the intention of Government to restore Shah Shuja, yet I was ordered to keep it a profound secret.

The hot weather having passed, and having yet received no authority to remain at Kalat, I started for Shikarpoor. On my arrival at Soherab I received a letter authorizing me to make the Shah's restoration public, but containing no instructions to remain at Kalat. These, however, at last reached me some days after my arrival at Shikarpoor; and I had scarcely completed my preparations to return to Kalat, when I received a letter from Sir Alexander Burnes, saying, he had been appointed Envoy to Kalat and requesting I would delay my departure. I joined Sir A. Burnes at Roree, and he became so taken up with Commissariat arrangements, in which he required my assistance, that he delayed either proceeding himself, or deputing me, until it was too late.

Events of 1839.

Treaties had been concluded with the Ameers of Sinde and the Nawab of Bhawulpore, and Mehrab Khan was called upon to allow supplies to be laid in Cutchee and to procure camels. He laid obstacles in the way of the former being done, and made excuses for not doing the latter; saying, a Treaty should be made with him, as had been made with the Ameers of Sinde and the Nawab of Bhawulpore, to both of whom he considered himself superior, as he had never been tributary, as they had, to the Sadozye kings. A Treaty was refused, and after the march from Shikarpoor of the Army of the Indus, Sir A. Burnes proceeded to Kalat to purchase supplies and bring Mehrab Khan to pay his respects to Shah Shuja at Shawl, both of which objects he failed to accomplish; and the districts of Shawl and Cutchee were declared forfeited by the Khan accordingly.

The army advanced on Candahar and Cabool, and Mehrab Khan having been convicted of annoying detachments frequenting the Bolan Pass by means of the Brahoee and other tribes

inhabiting the neighbourhood, his deposition was determined on; and the Bombay column under General Wiltshire on their return took the fortress of Kalat by storm on the 13th November 1839.

Deposition.

Just before the citadel was stormed and he was killed, Mehrab Khan sent the following message with a matchlock to his son by Darogah Moosa:—Tell my son that both myself and my wealth have past away and become sin offerings for him; give him this matchlock, that has descended as an heirloom from his forefathers. Tell him to keep it and bear it on his shoulders, and he will one day be Khan of Kalat. Tell him not to be guided by the counsel of the Brahoees, and not prematurely to oppose Shahnawaz Khan."

Last message to his son.

Connecting by Marriage.—Mehrab Khan, in his life-time, gave two of his daughters in marriage to two sons of Meer Karam Khan, Eltazye, and for his son, the young Nasseer Khan, he engaged the daughter of Meer Rusheed Khan, Zahree.

Contrition.—The following will show that Mehrab Khan repented of the murderous policy he had pursued:—

In Durbar one day in August 1838, wishing to prove if what I had heard of his cruel disposition was true, I remarked that Afghans and Baloches could only be ruled with a rod of iron. "I thought so too," replied he with a sigh, "and many a Chief have I had butchered beneath this very window at which we are sitting; but I was wrong, and I have lived to know it."

Candahar,
The 1st August 1842.

(Sd.) R. Leech.

APPENDIX V.

FLUCTUATING FRONTIERS OF PERSIA AS INDICATED BY MORIER, KINNEIR, SIR JOHN MALCOLM, AND FRASER.

As a further illustration of the nature of the frontiers of Persia on the East and South, the following passages are extracted from original authorities:—

Morier, in the Narrative of his Journey through Persia as Secretary to the Embassy of Sir Hartford Jones (1808-1809), writes as follows:—

"Of *Farsistan*, under this its present more extensive signification, the hot and desert country is called the *Germesir*, a generic term for a warm region, which will be recognised under the ancient appellations of *Germania*, *Kermania*, or *Carmania*. The termination of the Persian dominion in this direction, is an undefined tract between the *Germesir* and the *Mekran*. It was the ancient boast of Persia, that its boundaries were not a petty stream or an imaginary line, but ranges of impervious mountains or deserts as impervious. In this quarter there is little probability that the country will ever become less valuable as a frontier, by becoming more cultivated and better inhabited. The land is put to so little use, that no power would greatly care to press the extension of an authority so unprofitable. Every age has marked the unalterable barbarism of the soil and of the people. The *Balouchistan*, or the country of the *Balouches*, the most desert region of the coast, begins about *Minou*, on the west of *Cape Jasques*. Their country is perhaps nearly the *Mekran* of geography. They once owned subjection to Persia, but they have now resumed the independence of Arabs, and live in wandering communities under the government of their own *Sheiks*, of whom two are pre-eminent. They have indeed still some little commercial connexion with Persia, and occasionally a *Balouche* is to be seen in *Bushire* selling his scanty wares, mostly the mats of their own manufacture. One of their *Sheiks* lives at *Guadel* [*i. e.*, Gwadir] on the coast of *Mekran;* but in the interior, according to the account given by a *Balouche* to Captain Salter, there is a very potent king, though I cannot add from the same authority, whether he is of their own extraction. They live in continual wars with each other; or let themselves out to the different small powers in the Gulph as soldiers. Many of the guards of the *Sheik* of *Bushire* are *Balouches;* and the Seapoys also on board the Arab ships are of the same tribes."*

Kinneir, in his Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (1816), writes as follows:—

"It is not easy to define correctly the boundaries of the Persian Empire, which, it may be said, was at one time confined to the single province of *Fars*, whilst at another it extended from the shores of the *Bosphorus* to the banks of the *Hyphasis*. But those apparently assigned to it by nature, and which were its limits in the reign of Artaxerxes, the illustrious founder of the house of Sassan, are the *Sea of Oman* and *Indian Ocean* to the South; the *Indus* and *Oxus* to the East and North-East; the *Caspian Sea* and *Mount Caucasus* to the North; and the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to the West. These boundaries comprehend many great provinces and several kingdoms, which I shall hereafter endeavour to describe, although the dominion of the present King does not extend over many of these countries. It is confined to the provinces of *Fars* and *Irak*, *Lar*, *Kuzistan*, part of *Kurdistan*, *Azerbijan*, *Ghilan*, *Mazanderaun*, the western parts of *Khorassan*, with the cities of *Meshed*, *Nishapour*, and *Turshish*, and the western division of *Kerman*, including the capital of that province." †

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* Morier, First Journey, pp. 49-50.

† Kinneir, pp. 1-2.

The language of Sir John Malcolm, a high authority, is precisely the same as that of Kinneir.

Mr. James Fraser, who undertook a journey through Khorassan in 1821 and 1822, makes the following observations on that important region :—

"The boundaries of that extensive tract, recognized under the appellation of Khorassan, have been dfferently described by the authors who have written on the subject at different periods; and no country has, in reality, varied more in its extent or in its circumstances; at times, the centre of a great empire, it was the residence of mighty monarchs; at times, formed into a separate kingdom, it obeyed its own peculiar sovereigns; oftener a province loosely appended to a fallen state, it became the theatre of invasion, rebellion, and anarchy. Situated on the borders of the two great divisions of the Asiatic world, Iran and Turan, and occupying a portion of both, it was continually a subject of dispute between the monarchs of each; and sometimes fell wholly into the power of the one, sometimes of the other. Whether in the more limited sense of its name, as a province, or in the more enlarged acceptation, as a state of no mean importance, it was the scene of mighty operations; and many of the greatest atrocities and severest contests Asia ever witnessed, were committed in its cities, and took place upon its plains. Thus circumstanced, its political boundaries were continually varying, and extending or diminishing on the one side or the other, with the fortunes of its own or the surrounding potentates.

"The limits assigned to this country were at one time magnificent; for they comprehended on the north everything to the Oxus, including the steppe of Khaurezm, Balkh, and all the intervening country to the east: on the south-east, not only the city and dependencies of Herat, but those of Subzawur, Furrah, Geereesh, and even Candahar itself: on the south, it was always bounded by Kerman and Seieestan: on the west it included the district of Yezd, but its salt desert was bounded in that direction by the districts of Ispahan, Cashan, and Rhe, somewhere near Semnaun; beyond the Elburz mountains, the district of Astrabad and of Goorgaun were also considered as dependencies of this vast territory.

"If Khorassan were to be considered merely as a province of Persia, and were the appellation limited to that portion of country east of Irak, which obeys the Persian monarch, its extent would now be small indeed."

Fraser's Journey into Khorassan, pp. 241-242.

APPENDIX VI.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE IMAUM OF MUSKAT AND PERSIA IN 1846.*

"Early in the summer of 1846 attention was called to the disturbed state of affairs that existed in the Imaum's rented possessions on the Persian Coast. The proceedings connected with this affair extending over a period of more than two years, and being well nigh productive of serious complications, it may not be amiss to enter somewhat fully into an account of the cause of the disagreement, and to wateh its progress through all its phases.

"The Imaum had two grounds of complaint; the first, though it gave rise to much irritation, being comparatively speaking of little importance, shall be told as briefly as possible, and at once disposed of:

"In the year 1846 Mahomed Ali Bundera, an influential merchant of Muskat, visited the town of Bushire. Meerza Abbas, at that time governor, hearing that the new arrival was possessed of much wealth, and instigated, it was said, by the evil counsels of one Meer Bauker, a Bushire merchant of no repute, resolved by some means or another to extort from his visitor a large sum of money. Mahomed Ali Bundera was called upon to pay over a portion of his riches, and obstinately refused. Reeourse was had to harsh measures and ill usage, but without effect: at last, however, driven to extremities, and finding that preparations were in course to inflict torture upon him, he agreed to pay the sum of 750 Tomans. Having given the above promise, he was released, and contrived to make good his escape from Bushire harbour before he had paid any portion of the money. Meer Bauker pretended that the sum of 750 Tomans was due to himself, for he said that, having guaranteed the payment thereof to Meerza Abbas, he was eventually compelled to disburse the whole amount from his own pocket.

"During the preceding year (1845), some seven cases of indigo were sent to Bushire for sale by Syud Mahomed bin Salim of Muskat, nephew to His Highness the Imaum. Meer Bauker, ever seeking a pretext for revenge, and still incensed at the escape of his would-be victim, now thought a fitting opportunity for the practice of a little more villany had arrived. He declared Syf bin Salim's indigo to be the property of Mahomed Ali Bundera, and, by means of bribes, and a representation of his claims upon the latter party, indueed Meerza Hedayut, aeting Governor of Bushire, to seize and confiscate the whole of the boxes. These were transmitted to Shiraz, and no appeals from the Resident either to Meerza Hedayut or to Shaik Nassir, the *de facto* Governor of Bushire, could effect their relinquishment. The Muskat authorities retaliated, by the seizure of a quantity of silk, belonging to Persian merchants, that was intercepted on its way to the Presidency. Much discussion arose, and many letters were exchanged on the subject of the above "seizure and counter-seizure," but it was not until after the lapse of close upon a year that matters were in any way settled or adjusted.

"We now come to the seeond ground of complaint:

"This consisted in the dispatch of troops by Houssein Khan, the Governor of Fars, against Bunder Abbas, with a view to exacting a large sum of money from Shaikh Syf bin Nubhan, the governor, and the Imaum's deputy in that place.

"The Imaum was determined to resent these injuries. He addressed himself to the Governor General of India, "intimating his desire to blockade the port of Bushire," and also wrote to Shaikh Nassir direct, remonstrating with him for the unfriendliness of his behaviour

* From Lieutenant Disbrowe's Narrative in the Bombay Selections, No. XIII., page .

in the matter of the indigo, and telling him plainly that as he understood Pers[illegible] were encroaching upon, and "destroying his possessions in Bunder Abbas, he would r[illegible] by destroying Bushire."

"The chief fears entertained by Shaik Nassir, on receipt of the above communication, were lest the Imaum, by means of his fleet, should take possession of Karrack.

"The Governor of Fars likewise seems to have had a wholesome dread of the Imaum's naval superiority; for although he did not actually deign to express such feeling, he besought the Resident to pacify and appease His Highness,—to assure him that in no way had Persian troops encroached upon or injured his rented territories,—they had merely been dispatched for the purpose of settling affairs on the frontier. The Resident, in reply, refused to interpose, until the illegally confiscated indigo had been restored to its lawful owner. In this refusal, too, was he justified, for the Persian Ministers had both disavowed the military proceedings of Houssein Khan, and commanded the immediate restitution of the indigo. That they were not sincere, however, in their professions of disavowal is plain, for two reasons,—the indigo was not restored until after much evasion, and troops were again marched into the vicinity of Bunder Abbas, Meenao being actually invested by Fuzl Ali Khan, the Governor of Kirman.

"Syf bin Nubhan lost all patience, and was on the point of himself carrying into execution the threats made by His Highness of blockading the ports on the Persian Coast, when an intimation reached him from the Resident, "that he would not be permitted to carry on hostilities at sea in the name of his master, and thus disturb the peace of the Persian Gulf." His designs of retaliation were thus frustrated, and he had recourse to another line of conduct. He promised Fuzl Ali Khan, in the event of his raising the siege of Meenao, and withdrawing his troops, that he would disburse to him the sum of 12,000 E. I. Company's Rupees. Whether or not the money was paid, or whether Syf bin Nubhan merely guaranteed its payment, with a full intention to break his promise so soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself, I know not. Ruse or no ruse, however, it had the desired effect: hostilities against Meenao were suspended, and the districts were evacuated by the Kirman army.

"His Highness had up to the present time behaved with much forbearance, and entirely abstained from acts of aggression; but in October 1848, perceiving that no amends were likely to be made for the insults offered to his dignity, and the wrongs done to his territories, he again wrote to the Resident, reiterating his request for sanction to proceed against the ports on the Persian Coast. The Resident had hitherto sent no direct reply, but confined himself to doing all in his power to dissuade the Imaum from entertaining the idea of a blockade; to assuring him that such an act would in the end prove detrimental to his own interests; and to holding out to him hope that, through the exertions of the British Envoy at the capital in his behalf, justice would yet be done,—amends would still be made; but now the aspect of affairs was greatly altered,—indeed it is difficult to say where matters might have ended, or what disturbances might not have arisen, had not His Excellency Hajee Meerza Aghasee, then Prime Minister at the Court of Persia, withdrawn from office, consequent upon the death of Mahomed Shah, which occurred at this season, and been succeeded by a Minister more favourable to British views, and more inclined to give ear to justice; for instructions had been issued by the Supreme Government to the Resident, in reply to a reference he had made on the subject, that he was not to thwart or prevent His Highness from carrying into execution his threat to blockade the Persian ports, in the event of redress being refused him. These instructions had arrived, and the Imaum had become desperate. Meerza Aghasee's successor was appealed to. He promised redress; he fulfilled his promise: Fuzl Ali Khan was removed from his post, and matters were peaceably settled.

"On taking a retrospective review of the whole course of events, we cannot but think that the Persian Ministers, previous to the demise of Mahomed Shah, however much they appeared

ove of the conduct of their subordinates, they did not do so in reality. On the and, the Imaum, although, perhaps, all things considered, he may be said to have acted with much forbearance and moderation, conducted himself, it must be admitted, with considerable hastiness in the outset. The opinion of the Resident at the time was that, had His Highness, in lieu of threatening to take the law into his own hands, plainly and soberly laid his grievances before His Majesty the Shah, full redress would have been afforded for any amount of wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the Persian Government; but the precipitate line of conduct His Highness adopted, the objectionable tone of his written address to Shaikh Nassir, the proneness to take offence displayed by Shaikh Syf bin Nubhan,—these all tended to provoke and exasperate the Persian Ministers, and, naturally enough, to shut out every hope of a peaceable settlement.

"Towards the close of the year 1847, His Highness the Imaum espoused a grand-daughter of the late Fath Ali Shah. This marriage occasioned considerable surprise to many, for no one had in any way heard of the proposed match until the lady made her appearance at Muskat, on her way to join His Highness at Zanzibar. No political importance, it may be observed, was attached to this Persian connexion by the British Minister at the capital."

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